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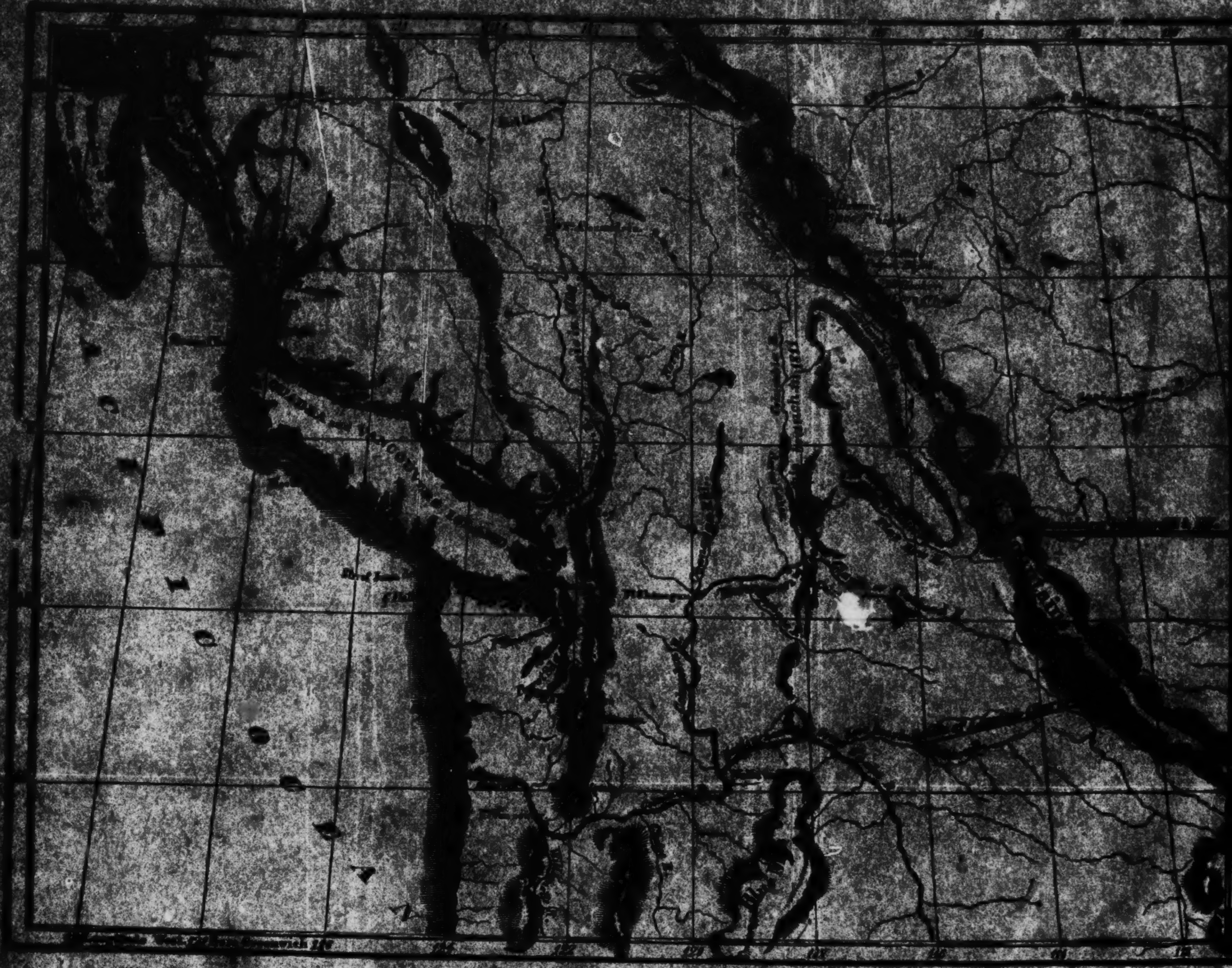

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THE

HISTORY OF OREGON,

GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL.

BY GEORGE WILKES.

EMBRACING AN ANALYSIS OF THE OLD SPANISH CLAIMS, THE BRITISH PRETENSIONS, THE UNITED STATES TITLE; AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRESENT CONDITION AND CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY, AND A THOROUGH EXAMINATION OF THE PROJECT OF A

NATIONAL RAIL ROAD,

FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

TO WHICH IS ADDED A JOURNAL OF THE EVENTS OF THE CELEBRATED EMIGRATING EXPEDITION OF 1843; CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE ROUTE FROM MISSOURI TO ASTORIA, A TABLE OF DISTANCES, AND THE PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TERRITORY, AND ITS SETTLEMENTS, BY A MEMBER OF THE RECENTLY ORGANISED

OREGON LEGISLATURE.

THE WHOLE CONCLUDING WITH AN APPENDIX, CONTAINING THE TREATIES, DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE, AND NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN SPAIN, RUSSIA, GREAT BRITAIN, AND THE UNITED STATES, IN RELATION TO THE NORTH WEST COAST.

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PREFACE.

The deep interest taken in the Oregon question at the present moment; its paramount importance as a feature of our national policy, and the prevailing inacquaintance with its particular merits, have, together, induced the author to prepare the following pages, in the absence of the requisite work for the reference of the public.

There appears to be a peculiar necessity for a publication of this kind at present, for recent events have shown it is no extravagance to suppose that a period may arrive when it will be necessary for us to be assured, whether we are to buckle on our armor, and to draw our swords in a righteous cause or no.

In a monarchy, where the sovereign has a direct and absorbing personal interest in every war, he pays pamphleteers to make it popular with The People. In a Government like ours, this duty, when just, devolves upon its citizens, and such of them as perform it, are rewarded with consciousness of having acquitted themselves of a natural obligation, and in the additional gratification of lending another impulse to a righteous cause.

To accomplish his object in the best manner, the following pages have been arranged in two distinct parts; the first embracing the features of title, geography, and natural advantages; and the second, the descriptions of a traveller of the characteristics and capabilities of the country in dispute.

In the preparation of the first, care has been taken to furnish a clear, concise and straightforward relation of events, and to avoid the technicalities and pedantries which usually confuse the mind in the attempted consideration of such subjects. For the data of this portion of the work, the author has availed himself freely of the best authorities on the subject, and he takes this opportunity of acknowledging his indebtedness to the work of Robert Greenhow, published for the use of Congress in 1840, and also to the more recent journal of Lieutenant Wilkes.

It will be observed by those already conversant with the Oregon Question, that the author has left what is called "the French Title" from the category of our claims. He did this because he esteemed it of but little weight; but those who are curious on the subject, will find a careful deduction of it in the Appendix, as prepared by a Committee of Congress, in 1843.

The project of a National Rail Road across the continent, though generally denounced as visionary and impracticable, has long been the author's favorite idea, and he claims for it that attention which every scheme deserves from its opposers. It was not his intention to advance it as early as the present time, but the rapid progress of events has precipitated his design, and a similar proposal from another source, has induced him to bring it forward now, principally from an apprehension that the grandest scheme the world ever entertained, may be prostituted to the selfish interests of a private corporation.

The second part of the work, consists of a journal, prepared from a series of letters, written by a gentleman now in Oregon, who himself accompanied the celebrated emigrating expedition of 1843.

They make no pretensions in their style, but are merely simple, conversational epistles, which, in their familiar, off-hand way, furnish a large amount of useful practical information to the emigrant, and much interesting matter to the general reader. The author has done scarcely more to this portion than to throw it into chapters, and to strike from it such historical and geographical statistics as had been drawn from other sources, and arranged in the preceding portions of the work. These letters fell into his hands after the adoption and commencement of his original design; and adapting them to his purpose, by linking them with his own MSS., a deal of research was saved him by the valuable and peculiar information they contributed.

In conclusion, though much of his labor has been performed in haste, the author thinks it hardly necessary to offer an apology for the manner in which it has been accomplished. Instead of fishing for credit, he has desired only to be useful, and he would much prefer confirming the just determination of a single man, than to pleasing the fancies of a thousand critics. He has therefore been content to be correct, and he will feel over-paid if he have opposed a single obstacle to the manifold deceptions and misstatements of the calculating monarchists who unhappily form a portion of the Citizens of this Republic, or have contributed a mite to the great movement that will advance the destiny of his country more rapidly than all other influences combined.

NOTE.—The map facing the title-page is taken from an English publication on the Oregon Question, and from the extreme haste with which the publisher has been obliged to proceed, is the best he is enabled to furnish, for the present. Though shorn of two degrees of the southern portion of Oregon, it is accurate in the profile of the coast, in the course of the rivers, and in all the principal features of the territory. It will be noticed that along the line of *Frazer's* River runs the words—"Route of Makenzie, in 1793;" and as no mention is made in the following pages of Mr. Makenzie, it may be proper to state that he was a Scotch Fur Trader, who had been engaged in the years 1789-90 and -91, in exploring the Great Slave River, to the North Sea, and in 1793, descended Frazer's River, to its mouth. This exploit, however, has no bearing on the question of title, as Galiano, and Valdes, and Vancouver had visited it some weeks before. As a further explanation, it may be necessary to say that Queen Charlotte's Sound, and the Gulf of Georgia, are northern portions of the Strait of Fuca; and an easterly line from the southern point of the small island immediately under mark of longitude 123°, to the Rocky Mountains, is the northern boundary we claim.

HISTORY OF OREGON.

PART I.

Historical Account of the Discovery and Settlement of Oregon Territory, Comprising an examination of the old Spanish Claims, the British Pretensions, and a deduction of the United States Title.

OREGON is a vast stretch of territory, lying on the north west coast of North America. It is bounded on the west by the Pacific Ocean; on the north by latitude 54° 40′; on the east by the Rocky mountains, and on the south by the forty-second parallel. This geographical arrangement separates the coast into three grand divisions; first, that below the forty-second parallel belonging to Mexico; second, the section lying between 42°, and 54° 40′ to the United States; and third, all above the last named limit, to the Russian crown*—thus shutting Great Britain out from any inch of seaboard territory.

The whole of this immense region (Oregon) is nine hundred and sixty miles in length; its breadth along its northern boundary is about five hundred miles, and widening gradually with the south-easterly course of the Rocky mountains, it stretches to about seven hundred miles along its southern line. Its whole surface may, therefore, be estimated at *four hundred thousand square miles.*

Previous to entering into a description of its general characteristics, it is necessary first to analyze with accuracy the nature of our claims, for the purpose of ascertaining the degree of interest we are warranted in bestowing on it. This course will be found the more important, as we shall see that Great Britain, with characteristic modesty, lays claim to it for herself.

There are four modes by which nations may obtain possession and sovereignty over countries; and these are by *discovery;* by *settlement;* by *conquest,* and by *purchase*—the latter, including all subordinate modes of cession arising out of political arrangement.

These rules, or principles, are laid down and governed by a general system called *international law,* the nature and qualities of which it will be necessary for us to exactly understand, before we can proceed satisfactorily with our inquiry.

International Law is simply *no law at all,* for the first idea of law implies a superior power prescribing and dictating to an inferior one—a notion that is perfectly incompatible with the equality of nations. International law is, therefore, merely a collection of moral maxims put forth by certain ethical writers named Grotius, Puffendorf, Baron Wolfius and Vattel, which, being founded in the main on accurate bases, have been generally used by diplomatists as ready elucidations of the principles that should govern the general course and policy of nations. The adoption of this course saves them the special trouble of elaborating an argument on a natural right, by producing one ready

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See Appendix, No. 1.

made to their hand. The custom of resorting to these writers by diplomatists in the arrangement of their disputes, has given them a sort of authority, which has been confounded with the notion of an imperative rule. As, however, all nations are equal, there can be no international law but the great principle of RIGHT. Wherever the maxims of these writers square with this, they are doubtless as obligatory as any law can be; for all powers are subject alike to the rules of everlasting justice, which are the type and essence of the only supremacy to which the nations of the earth must bow. But, whenever on the contrary, they do not agree with this divine principle, it is equally obligatory on all to reject them.

There is another view in which a government like ours has a special and peculiar right to deny the obligatory nature of this collection of essays, and that is embraced in the fact of their being drawn from monarchial theories. *We*, therefore, who are working upon a new and antagonistic principle, are not bound by any scheme which conflicts with our own grand design; for it would be absurd in the extreme for a State which achieved its existence through the denouncement of an arbitrary and unjust system, to admit the binding force of its inconsistent parts. *We* want no such system of international law! The prevailing sentiment of national honour, common to every free people, is the best conservator of the rights of nations; for while it imperatively exacts immediate redress for every wrong, it rejects every unworthy policy with unqualified disdain. The principles of justice, eternal and invariable, are understood by all without the elaborate filterings of an artificial code, and they have the advantage moreover, of applying equally to Monarchies and to Republics. The just do right without a written rule; the bad outrage it in opposition to a thousand—the first find their reward in the approbation of the world; the last their punishment in the alternative of war. No written code can alter these tendencies, nor affect their results. No nation will obey a rule which runs in derogation of its rights. What need then of a system which offers no additional inducements and enforces no additional penalties?

We do not introduce these views of international law here, because any of its principles makes against our claims to Oregon, but for the opposite reason that they substantiate them; for we wish to be understood, that while we have a right to accept a proposition waged against us, and turn its premises to our own account, we do not thereby bind ourselves irrevocably to the whole system of which it is a part.

Great Britain in support of her pretensions to the sovereignty of Oregon, produces two principles from this code which relate to the rights drawn from discovery and occupation. We accept the challenge, because it happens to be founded on correct principles, and because it enables us to beat her on her own ground. The following are the rules alluded to. They are extracted from Vattel, who is considered the standard authority on international law.

> "All mankind have an equal right to things that have not fallen into the hands of any one; and these things belong to the person who first takes possession of them. When, therefore, a nation finds a country uninhabited and without an owner, it may lawfully take possession of it; and after it has sufficiently made known its intention or will in this respect, it cannot be deprived of it by another nation. Thus naviga-

> tors going on voyages of discovery, *furnished with a commission from their sovereign*, and meeting with islands or other lands in a desert state, have taken possession of them in the name of their nation; and this title has been usually respected, provided it was soon after followed by a real possession."—*Book* 1, *Chap.* 18, *Sec.* 207.
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> "When a nation takes possession of a country that never yet belonged to another, it is considered as possessing there the empire or sovereignty at the same time with the domain."—*Book* 1, *Chap.* 18, *Sec.* 205.

The correctness of these propositions cannot be denied; they are consistent with reason and natural rights, and though they derive no additional force from being written down by Monsieur Vattel, they are properly admitted by nations as principles which cannot be assailed to the injury of the party enjoying the rights of the affirmative, without aggression. Indeed, they would have been much better and more correctly understood if Vattel had never said a word about them. It is obvious enough that no claim can exist to a country which has never been discovered, and it is equally obvious that it must naturally fall into the possession of the first nation who redeems it to the world; but it is not so apparent why a navigator should be armed with *a commission* before his nation can derive a title to his discoveries. Here we see at once the pedantry of the lawyer: the main proposition is founded upon reasonable principles, but the latter condition is the offspring of a quirk. It will be hereafter seen that England discards this feature from the rule, in her assertion of the discoveries of Meares; and it was against such absurdities as this, that our protest against international law was intended to guard.

There is one other principle of international law which has been introduced into this controversy, that is of equal natural force and validity with the foregoing ones. This is the well known and established rule, that "he who first discovers the mouth of a river draining a country in a state of nature, and makes known his discovery; and the nation whom he represents, takes possession in a reasonable time, becomes the owner of all the territory drained by such river."

This proposition, like the former ones, recommends itself at once to our reason and common sense. It is clear that such river should belong of right to the nation first discovering it, and it is equally clear, that to be of any use or benefit to them, they should have possession of the whole country drained by it, so that its sources and its current may not be at the mercy of inimical hands, who could render it useless at pleasure, by cutting off the first, or perverting the second in a different channel.

THE OLD SPANISH CLAIMS.*

In 1491, the western hemisphere slept unknown in the abyss. 1491.
In 1492 Spain redeemed it to the world. Between 1512 and 1492. 1512.
1541, she settled Mexico, occupied Florida, traversed the whole 1541.
northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and explored the interior of the
continent as far as the fortieth degree of north latitude. In 1543 1543.
she explored the coast under Cabrillo and Bartoleme Ferrelo, as

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* Though it is hardly necessary to mention to the reader in this stage of our examination, that the United States purchased from Spain in 1819, all the right devolving to her on the North West coast above 42° north latitude by virtue of her discoveries and settlements, it will do no harm to direct him to bear in mind that in making out *her* title, we of consequence establish our own.

1580. high as the forty-fourth parallel, and from that year till 1580 we hear of no other adventure in a northern latitude. In the last mentioned year, however, Sir Francis Drake appeared in the North Pacific, and as the British government have seen fit to lay great stress upon his discoveries, it is necessary that we should give them particular attention.

Drake was one of the most distinguished of the buccaneers who cursed the face of the ocean during the latter part of the sixteenth century. He had heard of the enormous profits derived from the pillage of the South American Spanish settlements, and appealing to Queen Elizabeth, (who secretly encouraged this system of warfare, while she dared not openly deny to Spain the rights of her Pacific discoveries,) received her aid to his nefarious schemes. With, therefore, no object beyond piracy and plunder, he entered the Pacific in 1578, and during the course of that and the following year, ravaged every town of note on the coast of South America; committing the most barbarous outrages on their unoffending inhabitants. Being at last gorged with spoil and satiated with ravage, his next object was to secure a safe retreat; but fearing to take the risk of a return through the straits of Magellan, lest the exasperated Spaniards should concentrate their forces there to cut him off, he resolved to return home by the way of the Indies and the Cape of Good Hope. He accordingly ranged along the coast as high as the 42d or 43d degrees of north latitude, when being pinched by the cold, he turned back and ran into the bay of San Francisco, in lat. 38. Here he stopped five weeks to refit, and for the purpose of awing the natives into submission, made a pompous display of colors and music, which he afterwards very modestly called taking possession for the British Crown. Though Drake knew from the accounts of the natives, and the articles of European manufacture he found among them, that the country had been discovered and visited long before, he could not overlook so favorable an opportunity of covering the dishonest nature of his enterprize; so he assumed the character of a discoverer, and performed the double service of saving both himself and his mistress from impertinent inquiry by the evasion. He was rewarded on his return home for the murders he had committed and the plunder which he shared, by a baronetcy instead of the rope, and descended to posterity as *Sir* Francis Drake, the celebrated navigator, instead of Drake, the bold pirate. On this infamous basis do the British Government found their claims to Oregon, and it may be regarded as significant of the ramifications of the design. They insist that Drake explored the coast as high as 48°, and rely upon the statements of a work called the "World Encompassed," published by an unknown compiler, from "notes of the Rev. Francis Fletcher, Preacher in this (Drake's) employment." But as this journal was not made until *sixty-three* years after the voyage was made, and as its incongruous statements are directly contradicted by a work published immediately after the return of the expedition, when this Mr. Fletcher and all the parties were alive, and able to refute it, we are not bound to bestow a grave consideration on its statements. The following extract will serve to show the consistency and veracity of the Preacher's statement:

"On the 3d June, (1580) we came in latitude 42° N., but in the night we found such an alteration of heat to extreme cold, as caused our men to grievously complain. The land bearing farther out in to the west than we had imagined, we were nearer on it than we were aware. The 5th of June we were forced by contrary winds to run in with the shore and cast an anchor in a bad bay, where we were not without some danger by the *extreme gusts and flawe* that beat upon us. In this place there was no abiding, on account of the extreme cold, *and the wind still directly bent upon us*, commanded us south whether we would or no. From the height of 48°, in which we now were, to 38°, we found the land low and reasonably plain, and in 38° 30' fell in with a fit and convenient harbor, where we anchored. During all this time, we were visited with like nipping colds, *neither was the air during the whole fourteen days so clear as to enable us to take the height of sun or star*. Though we searched the coast diligently, even unto the 48th degree, yet found we not the land to trend so much as one point in any place toward the east, *but rather running in continually north-west, as if it were directly to meet with Asia*."

Really this preacher expects a great deal from our symplicity, for he coolly tells us that he accomplished a sailing distance of nearly, if not quite, *four hundred miles* under the most adverse circumstances, in *two days*. Moreover, we find upon an examination of the maps, that the coast between these latitudes, so far from running continually "*north-west, as if it went directly to meet with Asia*," does not in any part trend one point toward the west. By comparing the two accounts, we find that the first historian, (Mr. Francis Pretty,) whose relation being published immediately upon its conclusion, may be regarded as the official journal of the voyage, sets the latitude of 5th June at 43°, while the other, whose work was not ventured before all the actors had departed from the stage, marks it 48°. It may be that Fletcher's manuscript has its degrees of latitude indicated by figures, and that a peculiarity of formation has confounded 43 with 48; but if the inconsistency is not explained in this way, we must of necessity conclude, that the Preacher, whose hard task it was, to make robbery and ravage square with the ordinances of religion, has been gradually brought to consider romance as his peculiar province, and to estimate a serviceable fiction over a common-place fact. The character of this production of Mr. Fletcher's appears to have been pretty well understood by the historians of the last century, for while but three writers previous to 1750, (and those of but little reputation,*) adopt his statements, they are rejected by the great mass of authorities, comprising Ogilby, in his History of America, De Laet, in his History of the New World, Heylin, in his Cosmography, Locke, in his History of Navigation, Dr. Samuel Johnson, in his biography of Drake, and Dr. Robertson, in his Standard History of America, none of them allowing Drake the credit of an advance above 43°, while the latter positively states that he turned back at the 42d parallel. When in addition to the indisputable veracity of these writers, we take into consideration that they are all, with one exception, Britons, who cannot be accused of an indifference to the glory of their country, we must reject the claim which is based upon the counter-statement, as without foundation. Even admitting the latitude they ask, the very principles of international law they have advanced, plunges them into an inextricable difficulty. By the rule which we have extracted from Vattel, *a discovery*, to confer a title, is clogged with a proviso in the concluding clause, that *a real possession* must follow soon after. Now we shall see in the progress of our inquiry, that *one hundred and ninety-eight years* elapsed, before another English navigator entered the northern latitudes of the North-west coast. As the most romantic imagination can hardly construe this into being *soon enough after*, we shall not hesitate to strike the pretensions, on the score of Drake, from off the record.

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* John Davis, Admiral Monson, and Captain Burney.

1584. From the date of the expedition of Cabrillo and Ferrelo (1543,) we hear of no further discovery to the north, except what is contained in the account of a voyage made by Francisco Gali or Guelli, a merchantman, who in his course from China to Mexico is said to have reached the vicinity of the American continent, in 57½ degrees, and to have sailed along in sight of its coast, till he arrived at the bay of San Francisco, in latitude 37½. But little reliance is to be placed upon this account, however, as by Guelli's own statement, the land first seen by him "was very high and fair, and wholly without snow," which could not have been the case with the land in that latitude. It makes but little difference whether he is entitled to all he claimed or not, for subsequent discoveries cover all the ground which this could have occupied, if it were ever so substantial.

1587. The next discovery by the Spaniards on the North-west coast, took place in 1587, by Jean de Fuca, a Greek pilot, who received the direction of a squadron fitted out by the Viceroy of Mexico for the discovery of a strait which was supposed to lead into the Atlantic ocean. Arriving between latitudes 48 and 49, he fell upon the great arm of the sea which separates "Quadra and Vancouver's Island" from the continent, and which now bears his name. This he thoroughly explored along its eastern course, and having remained in it for twenty days, returned to Mexico. From the policy pursued by the Spanish Government of concealing everything that related to their American possessions, the existence of this strait was unknown to the rest of the world for a long time, and when its discoverer disclosed it to an English merchant some years afterward, it was derided as a fable.

1787. In 1787 an Austrian vessel fell upon it and entered it to the distance of sixty miles, and as it corresponded in all its remarkable peculiarities with the one described by De Fuca nearly two hundred years before, justice was at once rendered to his memory by the bestowal on it of his name. From 1592 up to 1774, the Spaniards occupied themselves principally in forming settlements upon the
1774. coast and in the interior of their northern possessions; but in the latter year, another expedition was despatched under the charge of Juan Perez, which traversed the coast up to the 54th degree, down to forty minutes of which point the Russians had already extended their trading settlements. Proceeding south, Perez anchored in a spacious bay under 49°, which he named Port San Lorenzo, but which, on a subsequent visit by Captain Cook, received from that navigator, its present name of Nootka Sound. After leaving Port San Lorenzo, Perez saw the Strait of Fuca in his southern course,
1775. but did not stop to examine it. In the following year another expedition under Heceta, Bodega and Maurelle examined the whole shore from 40° up to 58°, and the former, on his return voyage, while between 46° and 47°, noticed an opening in the land at 46° 16', which appeared to be a harbor or the mouth of some river. He re-

ported the fact, giving his opinion to that effect, and subsequent Spanish maps accordingly laid down a river there, which they called the San Roque.

We have now brought the Spanish discoveries down to 1775, to which time no other European nation had set foot upon the coasts between 38° and 54° 40′, neither had any ever reached a higher latitude than 43°.

1778. In 1778, three years after this latter expedition, Captain Cook arrived in the North Pacific, and under 49½° fell in with the port San Lorenzo of the Spaniards. This, he named Nootka Sound, and ascribed the merit of its discovery to himself in the face of numerous evidences that Europeans had been there before him, for he tells us in his own account, that not only did the natives appear familiar with his ships, but he found among them articles of Spanish manufacture. Thus vanishes Cook from the shadowy list of English discoverers of the coast of Oregon; for until the word discovery is born again and receives a new definition, it will hardly possess sufficient elasticity of application to stretch its qualities to two distinct visitations of the same spot, separated by a distance of three years; and unless its meaning is considerably enlarged, it will scarcely extend from the outside of an island twenty miles at sea, to the body of the continent behind it.

Having disposed of the two main pillars of the English title, we next come to the examination of the filling in, the flimsy material of which we shall find in keeping and correspondence with the unsubstantial quality of the first.

In doing this, we shall be obliged to extend the scope of our narrative somewhat, as well to correct certain gross misrepresentations which have been made to the injury of the Spanish title, as to afford a proper idea of the unworthy subterfuges which the desperate diplomacy of Britain has employed to effect the establishment of their own, in opposition to it. This course is necessary, moreover, to a correct understanding of the whole subject, as the circumstances to be related nearly kindled a general European war, and as they led to a treaty, whose *claimed* concessions on the part of the English, admits virtually the integrity of the title of Spain.

1778. In the month of January, 1788, two Portuguese vessels named the "Felice," and "Iphigenia," arrived on the north-west coast of North America. The former was under the command of John Meares, a half-pay lieutenant in the British navy, and the latter was under the direction of William Douglas, also a British subject. They were engaged in the fur trade, and were owned by John Cavallo, a Portuguese merchant of Macao. As it is important to establish their nationality, it is necessary to state that they sailed under the Portuguese flag, and contained instructions to their commanders written in the Portuguese language. These directed them, in express terms, "to oppose with force any attempt on the part of any Russian, *English* or Spanish vessels to interfere with them, and if possible to capture them, to bring them to China, that they might be condemned as legal prizes by the Portuguese authorities of Macao, and their crews punished as pirates." This, of course, conclusively refutes the assumption that they were *English*. The first of these Portuguese vessels, the Felice, under the command of Meares, arrived at Nootka on the 13th May, when that officer finding he would need a small vessel for the shallow inlets and rivers of the coast, immediately commenced building one. Leaving a portion of his crew to complete her construction, Meares sailed towards the south to examine his trading ground. He endeavored unsuccessfully to explore the Strait of Fuca, and on arriving at the portion of the coast between 46° and 47°—the locality of the mouth of the Columbia—he sought for the great river which Heceta three years before had asserted emptied into the ocean in 46° 16′. Here he was unsuccessful again, and chagrined at the result, named the inward curve of the shore "*Deception Bay,*" and the northern promontory of the harbor "*Cape Disappointment,*" chronicling the circumstance in his own journal in the following words:—"*We can now with safety assert that there is no such river as that of Saint Roc exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts.*" After his unsatisfactory search, Meares returned in the latter part of July to Nootka. In September following, the American sloop Washington, Captain Gray, anchored in the same harbor. The little vessel commenced by Meares had been completed, and received the name of the "North West America;" and the Iphigenia, the other Portuguese vessel commanded by Douglas, arrived on the 24th of the same month. Elated with the success of his enterprise, Meares transferred the cargo of the latter vessel to his own with the utmost despatch, and filled with new designs inspired by the result, set out four days afterward for Macao.

In the following month, the ship Columbia of Boston, commanded by captain Kendrick, arrived at Nootka, and a few days afterwards, the two remaining Portuguese vessels, (the Iphigenia and the North West America) departed for the Sandwich Islands, leaving the American vessels to winter on the coast.

1788. Meares arrived at Macao in December, and finding that Cavallo, his owner, had become a bankrupt, determined to turn his information and position to the best account for himself. An opportunity was not long in offering itself to his designs. Two vessels belonging to a rival association, called the "King George's Sound Company," arrived at Macao under the command of James Colnett, another British officer under half pay. Meares immediately made overtures to an agent of that association, who came in one of the vessels (perhaps through some previous direction communicated by Meares, while all parties were on the N. W. coast together in the previous summer) to unite the interests of both concerns. The suggestion was adopted, the interests conjoined, and two vessels, the Princess Royal and the Argonaut (the latter bearing Colnett, who had chief direction) were despatched to Nootka, with the intention of establishing a permanent post there for the transaction of their trading operations. Meares remained at Macao as resident agent, with all the affairs of the association entirely at his control.

In the mean time, Spain, who had heard with uneasiness of the movements of the fur traders in the North Pacific, began to be alarmed for the safety of her possessions in that quarter, and remonstrances were made by her to the courts of England and of Russia, against the encroachments of the subjects of those two nations, in particular. To more effectually guard against these transgressions, as well as to resist a projected seizure of Nootka by the Russians, the viceroy of Mexico directed a squadron then lying at San Blas, under the command of

Don Estevan Jose Martinez, to proceed at once to the scene of the intended aggression.

Before the arrival of Martinez at Nootka, the Iphigenia and North West America, returned there from the Sandwich Islands, but in a most forlorn condition, the former being a mere wreck, and almost incapable of repair.

On the 6th of May, 1780, nine days afterwards, Martinez arrived, proclaimed that he had come to take possession of the country for the crown of Spain, landed artillery, and commenced the erection of a fort. This was the first actual occupation ever made of Nootka. The most kindly feeling prevailed among all parties for a time, and the Spanish commander afforded the Iphigenia whatever materials she stood in need of, in order that she might go to sea immediately; accepting in payment, bills drawn upon Cavallo, of Macao, *as her owner*. This amicable state of feeling lasted but a week, for upon Martinez being informed that the written instructions of the Portuguese vessels, directed them to seize and carry to Macao any *English*, Russian, or Spanish vessels, they could manage to overcome, he took possession of the Iphigenia, and put her officers and crew under arrest. They were liberated, however, in a few days, through the intercession of captain Kendrick of the Columbia, and the officers of the Iphigenia signed a declaration to the effect that she had not been interrupted in her operations, and that they had been kindly treated by Martinez during their stay at Nootka. Viana and Douglas as captain and supercargo, respectively, engaged to pay for themselves, and for Juan Cavallo, the owner of said vessel, to the order of the Viceroy of Mexico, her full value, in case her capture should be pronounced legal. Martinez then fully equipped her for sea, and enabled her to make a vastly profitable voyage; a circumstance which could not have happened without his special aid. Pretty lenient treatment for men whom he might have sent to Mexico to be tried for piracy, and a pretty hazardous policy moreover, when an additional force belonging to the same company was daily expected to arrive, which might have overpowered him, and reversed the case by sending him, according to their instructions, to Macao, to be tried on the same charge.

One of the vessels of the associated companies, the Princess Royal, arrived at Nootka on the 16th of June, and brought with her the news of the failure of Juan Cavallo; upon which, Martinez determined to hold the North West America (then there) as security for the bills which he held on the bankrupt. The Princess Royal was well treated by the Spaniards, and sailed on the second of July from Nootka on a cruise. As she was leaving the harbor, the Argonaut came in. Upon being boarded by the Spaniards, Captain Colnett arrogantly declared he had come to take possession of Nootka for Great Britain, and to erect a fort there under the British flag. This declaration, in connexion with some insolent conduct on the part of Colnett on the following day, who even went to the extent of drawing his sword upon the Spanish commander, in the latter's own cabin, determined Martinez to trifle no longer with such intemperate offenders, so he seized the Argonaut, and subsequently the Princess Royal, and despatched the former, with the crews of both, to San Blas, Mexico, as prisoners under the charge of a Spanish officer. Those who were captured in the North West America, which vessel was merely held as collateral security for the obligations of its owners, were sent in the Columbia as passengers to Macao, their passages not only being paid by Martinez, but an allowance being also made them for their wages. Having thus disposed of his mission, Martinez sailed from Nootka for Mexico in November, leaving Captain Kendrick of the sloop Washington alone upon the coast.

The Columbia, with the news of these circumstances, arrived at 1789. Macao in 1789, and Meares full of his wrongs immediately took depositions from some of the seamen, and posted off to London to see what capital he could make out of the circumstance. On his arrival there, he got up a memorial filled with the grossest misrepresentations and downright falsehoods, and adopting a new idea which probably had been suggested to him after his arrival, he asserted that in 1788 he had purchased a vast district of country from King Maquina, the monarch of Nootka, and that he had erected a fort there, with other buildings, by way of taking formal possession of the place for the British crown.

This remarkable document then concludes by praying for an indemnification of the losses sustained by the memorialist and his associates, through the seizure and detention of their vessels, in the very moderate sum of six hundred and fifty-three thousand dollars! This story of the purchase of a territory for the crown of Great Britain, by a Portuguese agent, in a Portuguese expedition, is peculiarly English in its extravagant pretensions. That it was the scheme of an afterthought is evident from a number of circumstances. In the first place, Meares in his journal of these voyages, written and published before the design of the memorial was conceived, makes no mention whatever of any such purchase of territory from the respectable monarch aforesaid; neither does he speak of the erection of the fort or the hoisting of the British flag. In the second place, he entirely overlooks these all important circumstances in the depositions which he took from the crew of the North West America previous to his departure from Canton; (none of whom say one word about them,) and in the third, to render the assertions of the memorial on this point more than questionable, he was able to trump up only one pretended witness in the person of a common seaman to sustain them, and that too on the very day of its presentation to parliament. It is a significant fact, moreover, that the king's speech which laid the grievances set forth in this memorial before the nation, makes no allusion to the seizure of any *lands or buildings* belonging to the British crown at Nootka, though that assumption found its way into the treaty framed shortly after; and it is a *positive* fact, too, from evidence that will hereafter appear, that there were no such lands or buildings there to seize. The British government, however, demanded atonement from Spain for these outrages on its flag, but though it prudently avoided representing the Felice and Iphigenia as British vessels, it was guilty of the monstrous inconsistency of claiming for itself the discoveries and territorial acquisitions of an agent and employee of a Portuguese association. By way of giving weight to its demands, the armament of two large fleets was ordered, and similar warlike preparations resounded through all the naval arsenals of indignant Spain. The latter, however, being disappointed in expected aid from France, and being embarrassed, moreover, in her finances, and in her foreign and domestic relations, was obliged to submit to the haughty terms imposed upon her. These are embraced in a treaty between the two high contracting powers 1790. signed on the 28th October, 1790, the first and second articles of which, provide for the *restoration of all buildings and tracts of land* on the continent of North America, or the islands adjacent, of which the subjects of his Britannic majesty were dispossessed in April, 1789, by Spain, and for compensation for all losses by violence, hostility, detention of vessels, &c. The *third* guarantees the right in common, of navigation, of carrying on the fisheries of the Pacific Ocean, and of landing on the unoccupied portions of the coasts for the purpose of trade with the natives, or of making settlements; subject, however, to the restriction of the *fourth* article, that British subjects should not navigate or carry on their fishery within the space of ten sea leagues from any part of the coasts already occupied by Spain. By the *fifth*, these common rights of fishing, trade and settlement are extended to all colonies formed, or to be formed, subsequent to April, 1789. By the *sixth*, both are prohibited from forming settlements in South America to the south of those already formed by Spain, though the liberty of a temporary landing is allowed for fishing purposes. The *seventh* provides for the form of convention to settle subsequent disputes; the *eighth*, and last, states that the instrument shall be ratified in six weeks, and the treaty thus concludes without making any limit for the duration of its stipulations.* It will be remarked that this treaty, though humiliating to Spain in the sense of forcing compensation for the exercise of a national right, makes no concession of a single claim of sovereignty, but rather secures to her, additional advantages and protects her from further encroachments. The following language used by Mr. Fox, in the house, in opposition to "a motion for an address to his majesty, congratulating him on the highly satisfactory issue to the late negotiation," &c., will serve to show the estimation in which the whole affair was held by the leading minds in parliament.

> "What, then, was the extent of our rights before the convention, and to what extent were they now secured to us? We possessed and exercised the free navigation of the Pacific ocean, without restraint or limitation. We possessed and exercised the right of carrying on fisheries in the South seas, equally unlimited. This estate we had, and were daily improving: it was not to be disgraced by the name of an acquisition. The admission of part of these rights by Spain was all we had obtained. It remained to inquire what it had cost. Our right before was to settle in any part of South or North-west America not fortified against us by previous occupancy, and we are now restricted to settle in certain places only, and under certain restrictions. This was an important concession on our part. Our right of fishing extended to the whole ocean; and now it, too, was limited, and to be carried on within certain distances of the Spanish settlements. Our right of making settlements was not, as now, a right to build huts, but to plant colonies, if we thought proper. Surely these were not acquisitions.
>
> "We have renounced the right of permanent settlement on the whole extent of South America, and where the admitted right of settlement on the north-west coast commenced was completely undefined.
>
> "By the third article, we are authorised to navigate the Pacific ocean and South seas, unmolested, for the purpose of carrying on our fisheries, and to land on the unsettled coasts for the purpose of trading with the natives; but, after this pompous recognition of right to navigation, fishing, and commerce, comes another article, which takes away all right of landing and erecting even temporary huts for any purpose but that of carrying on the fishing, and amounts to a complete dereliction

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* See Appendix, No. 3.

of all rights to settle in any way for the purpose of commerce with the natives. In renouncing all right to make settlements in South America, we had given to Spain what she considered inestimable, and had in return been contented with dross."

In these opinions he was sustained by Grey, Lansdowne, and the other eminent whigs of the house. This treaty, however, is made the subject of another flourish of title by the English, who insist that it concedes to them an equal right with Spain to any unsettled portion of the coasts. We have seen the opinions of the leaders of the British parliament opposed to this assumption however, and we shall shortly see its denial by Spain. But even admitting it to be so, they gain nothing by it, for in four years afterward a war broke out between the two contracting parties, which, by the rules of international law, annulled all existing inter-arrangements that had no prescribed limits and that depended for their continuance upon a state of perfect amity, and Spain resumed at once, whatever she had resigned by the Nootka treaty, if she had in reality resigned anything at all. On the conclusion of peace, the treaty was not revived; consequently it is a nullity, and all that Britain accomplishes by advancing her pretensions on it now, is the virtual acknowledgment of the integrity of the Spanish claims which have fallen to us, and which she had so perseveringly endeavored to acquire.

This convention being concluded, the next thing was to take possession of the *tracts of land, buildings, forts*, &c. wrested from Mr.
1791. Meares at Nootka in 1789, and the English Government in 1791 despatched two ships under Captain George Vancouver, to effect
1792. the purpose. This officer arrived at Nootka on the 28th August, 1792, where he found the Spanish Commissioner in possession and ready to perform his share of the transfer. Negotiations between the two parties were then opened, and it became necessary "*to ascertain what lands on the North West coast of America were in the possession of British subjects, and what buildings were standing in those lands in 1789, when the Spanish first occupied Nootka.*" For this purpose Quadra applied to Maquina and his principal chiefs, who upon being questioned, positively denied that any lands had been bought, or any houses built by the English at Nootka in 1789, or at any other time. The Commissioner then applied to Captains Gray and Ingraham as well as to the Portuguese captain of the Iphigenia, all of whom happened to be there at the time. The two first replied at length in a circumstantial account* (now on file in the office of the Secretary of State, at Washington) which, after explaining with manly fairness all the events that provoked the seizure of Colnett's vessels, contains the following paragraph:—

> "We observe your wish to be acquainted what house or establishment Mr. Meares had at the time the Spaniards arrived here? We answer in a word—*none!* On the arrival of the Columbia in 1788, there was a house, or rather a hut, consisting of rough posts covered with boards *made by the Indians*; but this, Captain Douglas pulled to pieces prior to his sailing to the Sandwich Islands in the same year. The boards he took on board the Iphigenia, and the roof he gave to Captain Kendrick, which was cut up and used as firewood on board the Columbia; *so that on the arrival of Don Estevan José Martinez, there was no vestige of any house remaining.* As to the land Mr. Meares said he purchased from Maquinna, or any other chief, we cannot say further than we never heard of any, although we remained among these people nine months, and could converse with them perfectly well.

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* See Appendix, No. 4.

Besides this, we have asked Maquinna and other chiefs since our late arrival, if Captain Meares ever purchased any land in Nootka sound? They answered—*no!* that Captain Kendrick was the only man to whom they had ever sold any land."

The statements of this letter were confirmed in all points by Captain Viana, and thus the scandalous falsities of Meares' unsustained memorial were conclusively refuted. Vancouver, who must have keenly felt the mortification of the dilemma into which the mendacity of Meares had placed him—"the tract of land" dwindling to a hundred yards square, and the "erections" to the remains of one miserable hut—had no resource but to break off the negotiation, and send to England for new instructions. Quadra offered him the small spot temporarily occupied by Meares, restricted however, with the express understanding that such cession should not interfere with *the rights of his catholic Majesty to Nootka*, or any other portions of the adjoining coasts; but this was refused by the British commissioner, who having sent one of his lieutenants off with despatches, sailed from Nootka on the 12th October, and left the Spaniards in possession of the port. In 1794 Vancouver left the coast without 1794. effecting his object, and shortly afterwards, the Spaniards thinking it unnecessary to keep up a military force at so inconsiderable a place, withdrew to Mexico. In 1796, we have the authority of Lieutenant Broughton (whose conduct towards Captain Gray we shall have occasion shortly to analyse) for the statement that in the previous year, (1775,) the Spaniards had delivered up the port to Lieutenant Pearce, who had been despatched by the way of 1795. Mexico to hasten the termination of the business. This account, however, is denied by Belsham in his history of Great Britain, who, though a Briton himself, and tenacious of the interests of his country, says: "It is nevertheless certain from the most authentic subsequent information, that *the Spanish flag, flying at the fort and settlement of Nootka, was never struck; and that the whole territory has been virtually relinquished by Great Britain.*" This is by far the most reliable story of the two, as Broughton says he derived his information from *Maquina* only, who handed him a letter (he does not say from whom) to that effect, in 1796; while Belsham asserts the contrary on strength of his own inquiries and the pledge of his reputation as a historian. The latter's account is also the most probable, as Great Britain was at this time engrossed in a war with Republican France, during which she would hardly consider such an obscure and insignificant spot as Nootka, as worthy of so grave a notice. In 1796 Spain declared war against Great Britain, and all previously 1796. existing arrangements were rendered null and void.

Having completed the abstract of the Spanish title up to 1790, our attention is next claimed for an examination of the American discoveries, settlements, and purchases, which, in themselves, will be found sufficient to establish our rights to Oregon against the world. For the purpose of conducting the inquiry in a regular manner we shall have to turn a few years back.

THE UNITED STATES' TITLE.

After the conclusion of the revolutionary war, the enterprise of our People turned immediately to commercial pursuits, and before three years had rolled over the Republic, her infant marine had plumed its wings on the billows of every ocean. As early as 1787, an association of Boston merchants despatched the ship Columbia, Captain Kendrick, and the sloop Washington, Captain Gray, to the North Pacific, to be engaged in the fur trade. They arrived at San Lorenzo, or Nootka, in the latter part of September, 1788, where, as we have seen, they spent the winter. In the following year, Captain Gray, in the sloop, explored the Strait of Fuca for fifty miles in an eastwardly direction, and collected information from the natives on the shore, which brought him to the conclusion that the passage communicated northward with the Pacific, at an opening in latitude 51° which he had previously discovered, and to which he had given the name of "Pintard's Sound." This opinion was the *first* intimation the world ever had that Nootka was situated on an island. An erroneous account of this expedition was sent to England by Meares, representing that Gray had sailed through and through the strait, and had come again into the Pacific in the 56th degree of north latitude. This, while it proves Meares to be incapable of a straightforward story, also proves that he could not at that time have entertained any notion of claiming the island for the British crown, for such a report, by admitting the superior claim of another, is levelled directly against that assumption. Sailing north, Gray next circumnavigated, for the first time, "Queen Charlotte's Island," lying between latitude 51° and 54° and believing himself to be the original discoverer, named it Washington's Isle. He was not altogether correct in this opinion, for its northern point had been reached by Juan Perez in 1774, and in 1787, it was visited by Dixon, an English captain, who, conceiving it to be an island, named it after his vessel, the Queen Charlotte. In the latter part of the summer, Gray, having completed his trading operations, (rather unsuccessfully,) sailed on his return to Nootka. The Columbia left Nootka in August, 1789, for Macao, with the officers and crew of the North-west America. On her way out she met the Washington, when it was agreed that Gray should take command of the ship, proceed to China, and from thence to the United States by the Cape of Good Hope, while Kendrick remained upon the coast. During the years '89 and '91, Kendrick ranged up and down the coast, discovering many new islands, sounds, and inlets; and in August of the latter year, he purchased by formal and public arrangement, and by regular deed, several large tracts of land near Nootka from Maquina, Wicananish, and other chiefs of the surrounding country. This purchase is spoken of by several English writers, one of whom describes it, as being in "*a most fertile clime, embracing four degrees of latitude.*" After making this purchase, Kendrick sailed for the Sandwich Islands, where he was killed by the natives, at Owhyee. In September of this year, Gray returned to the Pacific in the Columbia, followed by the brig Hope, under the command of Joseph Ingraham, the former mate of the Columbia.

Four other American vessels, also bound on the fur trade, arrived shortly after, and with the Washington, made seven vessels in all, bearing the stars and stripes on the billows of the north Pacific.

Gray in his return reached the coast near Cape Mendocino, 1791.
and sailing northward, observed an opening in the land in latitude 46° 16′, from which issued a current so strong as to prevent his near approach. Being convinced that it was the outlet of a great river, he endeavored to enter it by repeated efforts, but being defeated through a period of nine days, he abandoned the attempt and continued his course to the north. In August we find him at 54° 30′ north, where he discovered the broad inlet in the continent, now called the "Portland Canal," which he navigated in a north-easterly direction to the distance of eighty miles. In the meantime the brig Hope and the other American vessels were prying in every nook and inlet of the coast, in indefatigable pursuance of their trading operations.

The Columbia, after wintering at Clyoquot, a port near Nootka, 1792.
set out with her enterprising commander in the spring of 1792, to renew her explorations. It was about this time, that Vancouver arrived upon the coast to meet the Spanish Commissioner, Quadra, who was already awaiting him at Nootka. He reached the coast at about 43°, and commenced a careful search for the river, laid down on the Spanish maps at 46° 16′. Like Meares, he was unsuccessful, and declares in his journal "*though he had sought for it under the most favorable circumstances of wind and weather, it was his deliberate opinion no such river existed in that latitude.*" He sailed onward, and on the second day afterward, met Gray at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, who in his good old ship had just left his winter quarters.

Gray informed Vancouver of his northern discoveries, as well as his discovery of a great river in 46° 16′; upon which Vancouver abruptly told him he was mistaken, and in noticing this circumstance in his journal, very complacently remarks—"this was probably the opening passed by us on the 27th," adding—"we have now explored a great part of the American continent, extending nearly two hundred and fifteen leagues, under the most favorable circumstances of wind and weather, and have seen no appearance of any opening in its shores, the whole coast forming one compact, solid, and nearly straight barrier against the sea." A little piqued at the Englishman's stolidity, Gray pushed on southward, determined to demonstrate the correctness of his assertions. In his course, he discovered Bulfinch's harbor, the name of which, in common with the appellations bestowed by him on his other discoveries, the British geographers have altered to suit their own purposes. On the 11th May, Gray arrived opposite the entrance of the river, and heedless of the risk, in his ardent spirit of enterprise dashed boldly through the breakers on its bar, and in a few moments slid out upon the tranquil bosom of a broad and majestic river.* Gray spent nine days in it, trading meanwhile with the natives, repairing and painting his vessel, and in filling the casks of the ship with fresh water from the stream. On the 20th, after having navigated it as far as the draught of his vessel would allow, (between 25 and 30 miles) he named it after his own good ship, spread his sails to the wind, and beat out over the bar, against a head wind, into the ocean.

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* See Appendix, No. 5.

This would appear to be pretty conclusive evidence of the discovery of *something*. But we shall shortly see that the diplomatic keenness which could perceive a most wonderful discovery in the mere sailing past a scollop in the shore, by Meares, crowned with the assertion that no river existed in that quarter, cannot find in the actual entrance of a river, in that very place, and in its navigation to the distance of nearly thirty miles inland, any discovery at all. As we intend, however, to claim it as a discovery, and to have all the rights and privileges flowing therefrom, we may as well here refer again to the rule that the nation which discovers the mouth of a river, by implication discovers the whole country watered by it. Applying this principle to our discovery of the mouth of the Columbia, we extend our own title with the limits of its mighty branches, from the 52d parallel on the north, to the 42d on the south; and from their gargling sources at the bases of the Rocky Mountains, to the resistless volume that swells the tide of the Pacific.

Having taken this principle as the rule of our rights, we will now briefly advert to the disgraceful attempt which has been made by two British officers to cheat Gray of his reward. As we allude to Vancouver and one of his lieutenants—Broughton, we shall have to follow their course for a while. We left them on the 7th May parting with Captain Gray at the Strait of Fuca, from which point they sailed in an easterly direction along its southern shore, landing once or twice to beat drums, blow trumpets, and display flags and gaudy uniforms to naked savages, by way of taking formal possession of the country, in violation of the solemn convention whose stipulations it was their special duty to conserve.* While they were thus engaged in amusing the innocent and unconscious natives, two Spanish schooners, named the Sutil and the Mexicana, which, under the command of Galiano and Valdes, had been engaged in a minute survey of the northern coasts, arrived in the Strait for the purpose of thoroughly exploring that also; and getting the start of the Britons, they led the way along its northern course. A meeting took place between the parties however, and to settle all disputes and jealousies, it was agreed to make the search in company. This arrangement was faithfully carried out; the parties entered the Pacific at Pintard's Sound, discovered by Captain Grey, and the territory on which Nootka was situated was found, according to his predictions, to be an island. The combined fleet shortly afterwards arrived at Nootka, when from the circumstances of the joint circumnavigation, it was called *Quadra and Vancouver's island*, the *first* branch of the appellation being the name of the Spanish commissioner then at that place. We have seen that no arrangement was effected by the two commissioners, and Vancouver, in view of the hopelessness of forcing any advantage from the resolute Spaniard, prepared to take his departure. His preparations were accelerated into haste by being informed by Quadra, that the indefatigable Yankee whom he had met in the spring, off the strait of Fuca, had succeeded in entering the river, the existence of which he (Vancouver) had denied, and, moreover, that he had explored it to a considerable distance from the ocean. In proof of this, Gray's charts were laid before him. No man likes to be defeated in his prognostications and opinions, and least of all, an Englishman. In this case it will be readily imagined the rule was not softened with Vancouver by his rival's being from Boston bay. Under these bitter feelings of disappointment and chagrin, Vancouver hastily set out for the river on the 18th of October—five months after the discovery—with Gray's charts and descriptions for his guides, actuated by the resolute intention of recovering his reputation by discovering it over again. On the 18th, he arrived at Bullfinch's Bay, the name of which, maugre Gray's charts, he changed to Whiddley's harbor, after one of his lieutenants. Finding on his arrival at the mouth of the Columbia, that the draught of his own vessel would not admit of her entrance, he sailed on to the port of San Francisco, in California, detaching Lieutenant Broughton to the service. This worthy representative and coadjutor entered the river in the Chatham, on the 20th of October, (five months to a day from the time of Gray's departure,) and there, to his surprise, found anchored the brig Jenny, of Bristol, which vessel had also got its information relative to the river, from Nootkaa few days before. The stream was found as Gray had described it to be, seven miles wide at its mouth, and decreasing to the extraordinary narrowness of a thousand yards, at a distance of twenty-five miles from the sea. This remarkable circumstance suggested an idea to Broughton and Vancouver when they laid their heads together afterward at San Francisco, which, if it do not give them credit for an extraordinary stretch of ingenuity, at least bestows upon them the most unquestionable title for meanness and dishonesty that could possibly be contrived. These gentlemen asserted that the *river* commenced at the distance of twenty-five miles from the sea; that Gray had not reached this point, but the part surveyed and explored by him was only an *inlet or sound;* consequently, the discovery of the river itself, belonged of right to Lieutenant Broughton! Unfortunately, however, for these maritime lexicographers, the geographical definitions of these terms will not consent to turn themselves wrong side out, either for their purposes, or for the service of her most christian majesty, and "sounds," and "inlets" of the sea, despite the ungracious straining of Captains Vancouver and Broughton, will still, as before, stand for independent arms, or friths, whose waters flowing up into the land, are necessarily salt. The waters of the Columbia, on the contrary, are fresh in their whole volume to within ten miles of the ocean, at which point, by the way, Captain Gray filled the casks of his ship. The conduct of the British government in adopting such an absurd pretence as this, is sufficiently discreditable; but when contrasted with the assumption in favour of *Meares*, it receives an additional tinct of dishonor, and betrays a desperation of motive approaching to insanity. In a *Statement*[*] presented by the British plenipotentiaries in 1826, to the American minister, embracing a number of propositions of about equal weight, it is alleged that *Meares* (!) is really entitled to the merit of the discovery of the Columbia, because, "he actually entered its bay in 1788, to the northern headland of which he gave the name of Cape Disappointment, a name which it bears to this day." This reasoning on both sides of the question, may be considered as the climax of argument, and the world may now rationally hope to see the long standing proposition, that black is white and white is black, satisfactorily established by the transcendent genius of British diplomacy. What signifies it if the doctrine in favor of Meares lets in the superior claim of Hecota, or if the rule of Vancouver wages destruction against Meares, the proposition is fortified at both ends, and those who like may fire away at either. Glorious, wise, powerful, magnanimous England! happy art thou in the possession of diplomatists, whose sagacity has discovered that a false position backed with power, is better than a true one supported only by the illusory strength of right, and who have the moral boldness to adopt a principle, maugre the whinings of all the theoretical ideoligists who dream of honor, and who waste their lives in speculative rules of ethics!

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* An omission has been made under the date of 1790, of a Spanish expedition under the command of Lieutenant Quimper, which surveyed the Strait of Fuca for 100 miles, discovering the harbors which Vancouver in the above expedition named "Admiralty Inlet, Port Discovery, Deception Passage," &c.

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[*] See Appendix, No. 6.

From the time of the breaking out of the war between Spain and Great Britain in 1795, up to the year 1816, the monarchies of Europe were too much engaged in wrestling with the energies of revolutionary France, and in resisting the stupendous power of the Empire, to pay any attention to a region so distant and insignificant as the North West coast of the Pacific; but the citizens of the United States, whose happy geographical position preserved them from being embroiled in the inhuman strife, availed themselves of the peculiar facilities thus offered to them, and carried on the trade exclusively between the North West coasts and the China seas.

1803. Up to the year 1803, the western boundary of the United States was the river Mississippi, which shut from our possession the vast region known by the name of Louisiana, now comprising Iowa, Missouri, Missouri Territory, Indian Territory, Arkansas, and the small portion at its southern extremity which still retains the former name of all. This immense country, stretching from Canada on the north, to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and spreading breadthwise from the Mississippi to the Rocky mountains, was originally owned by France, who obtained her title to it through the discovery of the mouth of the great stream which drains it, by two of her missionaries, in 1663, and by subsequent settlements under La Sale and others. In 1763, France ceded Louisiana to Spain. In
1803. 1800 Spain ceded it back again to France, and in 1803 it was purchased from France by the United States for the sum of $15,000,000. As soon as this purchase was made, the importance of Oregon as a Pacific gate to our possessions, became at once apparent, and Jefferson, under the direction of Congress, commissioned Captains Lewis and Clarke "to explore the river Missouri and its principal branches to their sources, to cross the Rocky mountains and trace to its termination in the Pacific some stream, whether the Columbia, the Oregon, the Colorado, or any other, which might offer *the most direct and practicable water communication across the conti-*
1805. *nent for the purposes of commerce.*" In 1805, these officers and their men crossed the mountains, and descending into Oregon, discovered a number of streams flowing westward, which, upon examination, were found to disembogue into the Columbia or some of its huge branches, whose comprehensive arms embrace within their span the 42d and 53d parallels, and roll their silver bands from the mountains to the sea. On the 15th of November, they reached its
1805. mouth, and building a fort which they called "Fort Catslop," they spent the winter there. In the spring of 1806, (March

13th,) having minutely explored the surrounding country, the party set out on their return, and after proceeding some distance up the stream, parted company; the one to explore the region north, and the other the country south. They met in the month of August following, at the *junction* of the Yellowstone and the Missouri rivers, on the eastern side of the mountains. Thus we find, that after having discovered the mouth of the Columbia in 1792, we explore the whole territory drained by it in 1805, build a fort at its mouth in November of that year, and thus take the actual possession "soon after," which is the positive conditions of the principles of international law previously quoted.

This being a difficult circumstance to overcome, the British government were puzzled for a time how to rebut or to offset it; but their natural fertility of resource did not leave them long at a loss, and resorting to their old principle that bold assertion is as good as timid proof, they affirmed—that "at least in the same, or *subsequent* years (1805–6) Mr. Thompson, an agent of the North West company, had established posts among the Flathead or *Kootanie* tribes (near the 50th° of latitude) and that it was from this point he hastened down in 1811 to ascertain the nature of the American establishment at the mouth of the Columbia river."

This is a part of the celebrated diplomatic *Statement* of 1826, and from its definite and satisfactory character, is worthy of taking place beside the claims of Vancouver and Meares.

The accounts given by Lewis and Clarke on the return of their expedition, attracted the attention of commercial men, and John Jacob Astor, an opulent merchant of New York, who was then engaged in the fur trade on the Upper Missouri, conceived the foundation of a company, whose efforts should be specially confined to the coast of this region. Before his plans were consummated, however, the Missouri Company, another American association, established a post beyond the Rocky mountains on the head waters of the southern branch of the Columbia in 1808, but it was abandoned in 1810 from a 1808. difficulty, through the enmity of the neighboring savages, of obtaining regular supply of food.

In 1809, Mr. Astor had completed his arrangements, and the 1809. Pacific Fur company by his exertions assumed a definite existence. In that year the ship Enterprise was sent into the north Pacific "to make preparatory researches and inquiries in the scenes of the new company's operations," and in 1810 two parties were formed, 1810. one to cross the continent under the conduct of W. P. Hunt, the chief agent, and the other to proceed on the ship Tonquin by sea. In March, 1811, the ship arrived at the mouth of the Columbia, and the colonists immediately selecting a spot, erected a factory and a fort, and in honor of the patron of the enterprise, called the establishment *Astoria*. By some means, the Mr. Thompson who is spoken of in the *Statement* alluded to, heard at his station on Fraser's lake (between latitudes 54° 55′) of this new settlement, and gathering together a party, posted in hot haste down the northern branch of the Columbia, building huts, hoisting flags and bestowing names by way of taking possession as they passed along. They reached Astoria a little too late, for on arriving there in July, they found the banner of the States waving over a fort—they found *factories* erected, farms laid out, and the contented colonists eating of the produce of their already flourishing gardens. They were, therefore, obliged most reluctantly to retrace their steps northward, after receiving the unwelcome information that the posts of which they had pretended to take possession on their way down, had all been visited five years before by officers of the United States.

1812. In the spring of 1812, the other party of emigrants under Mr. Hunt, completed their journey across the continent, and arrived safely at the settlement among their brother traders. A few days after this event, the ship Beaver arrived from New York, with still further reinforcements and supplies, and it was decided that Mr. Hunt, the chief agent, should sail in her in charge of an expedition to the northern coasts, the affairs of the factory being entrusted (unfortunately as will be seen) to the charge of McDougal, one of the Scotchmen who had formerly been in the service of the North West company. During the absence of Mr. Hunt, the news of the declaration of war by the United States against Great Britain reached Astoria, and created no small degree of uneasiness in the minds of the American members of the company, for they at once saw the difficulties this would lead to between themselves and their British associates. This information was received in January from New York, and in June following, an agent of the North West company arrived from Canada, bringing news of the approach of a British naval force to take possession of the American settlement. The Scotchmen and Englishmen connected with the association received the report with ill concealed satisfaction, and several of them withdrew from the service at once for that of the rival company. Those who remained could scarcely be considered faithful, beyond the considerations of the pecuniary interest that were involved in the affair. Anxious consultations were held, in which the foreigners held a superior and controlling influence. This was the natural consequence of their position, for having been selected with a view to their superior knowledge of trading operations gained in a previous service with the North West company, they held all the most responsible situations.

The latter proposed, in view of the approaching danger, to abandon the enterprise altogether, unless additional reinforcements and supplies should speedily arrive from New York to their assistance. This the Americans strenuously opposed, choosing rather to trust to the chances of their enemies not appearing, or in case they did, to risk the hazard of a struggle; but the resolution prevailed, and the minority of *interests* was bound to submit. At length Hunt arrived, but with all his efforts, was unable to change the determination of the Scottish partners, and knowing the impossibility of conducting the operations of the concern in case of their defection, he was obliged to submit to the arrangement. He, therefore, in pursuance of the decision set sail for the Sandwich Islands, for the purpose of chartering some vessels to convey the furs then stored in the factory, and other properties of the company, to Canton. In the month following his departure, a deputation from the North West Company descended the river to Astoria, bringing the additional information that a British *frigate* having under her convoy a large armed ship belonging to the N. W. Company, was on her way to the Columbia with the intention of destroying every thing American in that quarter. The communication of this news was accompanied by an offer on the part of the leader of the deputation, to purchase out the whole stock in trade, and other properties of the Pacific company; adding as an additional inducement, that they would engage, at a liberal rate of wages, all who might choose to enter their service, and agreed to send back to the United States all who wished to return. This whole measure had doubtless been secretly concocted by the Scotch partners of the Pacific Company, who, to effect it, had got Hunt out of the way, and the agents of the other party were proceeding exactly according to previously imparted directions. The proposal to employ, while it looked like an emanation of generosity, was a most insidious piece of treachery to entice away the employees on whom the Pacific Company depended for existence, and in such a state of society as existed there, was deserving of the punishment of death. It, however, afforded the Scotchmen an opportunity to secede without an appearance of absolute defection, and softened the opposition of those who were not unwilling to return to a more congenial society in their own country. The transfer was accordingly made, and the Pacific Company lost its identity in the North West Association.

From the time of their first arrival in the territory to the date of this relinquishment, the Pacific Company had established four forts or trading posts, besides the main one at Astoria. These were Fort Okanegan, situated at the confluence of that river and the north branch of the Columbia—Spokan House, on the river of the same name, and a branch of the latter establishment pushed further west, among the Flathead and Kootanic tribes—a post on the Kooskooske, and one on the Wallamette river. All of these establishments were included in the transfer of Astoria.

This inglorious termination of the enterprise took place on the 1813. 16th October, 1813. It was principally brought about by a Scotchman, named Duncan McDougal, whom Hunt had unwisely left in command of the fort, and who was strongly suspected of having been bribed to his course by the rival company. At any rate, the arrangement squared with his feelings, and he made it subserve his interest.

On the 1st December, before the transfer was completed, the British *sloop of war* Raccoon arrived at Astoria, expecting a rich plunder by the capture of the magazines and treasures of the Pacific Company; but all she found for prize was the American flag still waving its glorious folds above the fort. This remained there, notwithstanding the existence of the Pacific Company had ceased more than two months before; for the citizens of the United States who had belonged to it, insisted that this emblem of the Republic's sovereignty over the soil, formed no portion of the transfer to the English company. The following account of the capture of Astoria, and the taking possession of the fort, by Ross Cox, who gathered his information on the spot, shortly after the events took place, will not only serve to throw some light upon the motive of McDougal's treachery, but will also corroborate our claims to the first settlement of that region.

"Captain Black," (the commander of the Raccoon,) "took possession of Astoria in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and re-baptised it by the name of Fort George. He also insisted on having an inventory taken of the valuable stock of furs and other property purchased from the American company, with a view to the adoption of ulterior proceedings in England for the recovery of the value from the North West Company; but he subsequently relinquished this idea, and we heard no more of his claims. The Indians at the mouth of the Columbia knew well that Great Britain and America were distinct nations, and that they were then at war, but were ignorant of the arrangement made between Messrs. McDougal and Tavish, (the agent of the North West Company,) the former of whom still continued as nominal chief at the fort. On the arrival of the Raccoon, which they quickly discovered to be one of King George's fighting ships, they repaired armed to the fort, and requested an audience of Mr. McDougal. He was somewhat surprised at their numbers and warlike appearance, and demanded the object of such an unusual visit. Concomly, the principal chief of the Chinooks, (whose daughter McDougal had married,) thereupon addressed him in a long speech, in the course of which he said that King George had sent a ship full of warriors, and loaded with nothing but big guns, to take the Americans and make them all slaves; and that as *they* (the Americans) *were the first white men that settled in their country*, and treated the Indians like good relations, they resolved to defend them from King George's warriors, and were now ready to conceal themselves in the woods, close to the wharf, from whence they would be able with their guns and arrows to shoot all the men that should attempt to land from the English boats, while the people in the fort could fire at them with their big guns and rifles. This proposition was offered with an earnestness of manner that admitted no doubt of its sincerity; two armed boats from the Raccoon were approaching, and, had the people in the fort felt disposed to accede to the wishes of the Indians, every man of them would have been destroyed by an invisible enemy. Mr. McDougal thanked them for their friendly offer; but added, that notwithstanding the nations were at war, the people in the boats would not injure him nor any of his people, and therefore requested them to throw by their war shirts and arms, and receive the strangers as their friends. They at first seemed astonished at this answer; but, on assuring them in the most positive manner that he was under no apprehensions, they consented to give up their weapons for a few days. They afterwards declared they were sorry for having complied with Mr. Dougal's wishes; for when they observed Captain Black, surrounded by his officers and marines, break the bottle of port on the flag-staff, and hoist the British ensign, after changing the name of the fort, they remarked, that however much one might wish to conceal the fact, the Americans were undoubtedly made slaves; and they were not convinced of their mistake until the sloop of war had departed without taking any prisoners."

It is not our intention to assert that McDougal should have accepted of this offer of the Indians against his own nation, but it proves that with such friends as the aborigines of the country, the settlement could never have been seriously distressed for supplies; and, therefore, that his representations, on which the resolution to abandon the place was based, were false. Had Mr. Hunt possessed those means of resistance, and been in McDougal's situation, the property of the company would not have been sold, and the flag upon the fort would never have been struck.

1814. The war ended in 1814, and by the treaty of Ghent, signed on the 24th December, of that year, it was declared "*that all territory, places, and possessions whatever, taken by either party from the other during, or after the war, should be restored without delay.*" In accordance with the provisions of this article, the President of the United States, in October, 1817, despatched the sloop of war Ontario, with Captain Biddle and J. B. Prevost as Commissioners to Astoria, and they duly received the surrender of that place by the British authorities, on the 6th day of October, 1818.

1818. In this same year a negotiation was carried on in London, between the plenipotentiaries of the two Governments, for the settlement of a northern boundary line,* which resulted in the establish-

* See Appendix, No. 7.

ment of the 49th parallel, from the north-western point of the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, as the dividing line between the British Possessions and the territory of the States, leaving the portion beyond the Rocky Mountains, bordering on the Pacific, subject to the restrictions of the following article:

> "ART. 3. It is agreed that any country that may be claimed by either party on the north-west coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall, together with its harbors, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of the present Convention, to the vessels, citizens and subjects of the two Powers; *it being well understood that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of the said country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of another Power or State to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and difficulties among themselves.*"

It is plain from the wording of this article that England relied very lightly upon the strength of her own claims to the territory in dispute; the concluding clause being a virtual acknowledgment of the superior rights of Spain, whose anger is carefully deprecated, by the assurance that neither party aspired to her title, but that "their only object" in making this arrangement in regard to the common privileges of navigation, fishing, &c., was to "avoid differences among themselves." It is not necessary to explain that while this arrangement goes to conclude the pretensions of its proposer it does not now in the slightest degree affect us. The whole aim of the manoeuvre is sufficiently transparent to those acquainted with the political relations existing between the courts of Madrid and St. James at the periods of its performance. Impoverished and feeble Spain was looked upon by Great Britain as a much less formidable opponent than the Republic which had just emerged triumphantly from a war with her upon her own element. Her object, therefore, was to preclude us at all risks. She would be satisfied if she could make her own invalid title balance ours, for then she would *magnanimously* propose a joint relinquishment in favor of the third claimant whose cause she had so insidiously fortified.* After, this it would not have been long, of course, before exhausted Spain would have been forced to redeem one of the deep involvements incurred in the peninsular war, by turning the north west coast over to her subtle and grasping creditor. It would appear that our ministers at London divined this motive in the course of the negotiation, for an immediate offer was made on our part to Spain, and that power, wisely concluding to sell rather than to give away, closed with our overtures at once; and thus England's overreaching diplomacy was skilfully turned against herself.

The negotiation with Spain on this subject terminated on the 22d of February, 1819, (four months after the treaty of 1818 of which 1819.
the above article is a part,) in what is now known as the "Florida treaty." By this treaty the United States purchased all Florida, and likewise all the territory belonging to the crown of Spain north of the 42d degree of latitude for the sum of five millions of dollars, in the shape of a release of that amount of claims held against her by our

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* This opinion is strengthened by one of England's present offers of compromise which is, that both of us relinquish Oregon, for the common settlement of it for an independent nation, and also by her recently developed intrigues in relation to California and Texas.

merchants, and of which the United States assumed the payment. This arrangement of course merged the Spanish title in our own,[*] and by thus removing the only possible conflicting claim, placed the latter upon a basis of indisputable validity.

The chief value however that we attach to this cession on the part of Spain, is for its complete subversion of the pretensions of England, on the principle of original discovery of points of the coast. Our own individual title to Oregon is in itself made complete to 53° by the single principle of international law, which confers the whole country drained by a river and its tributaries, to the discoverer of its mouth. We recognized this principle in the purchase of the immense territory formerly comprehended under the name of Louisiana, and while we have paid a penalty of *fifteen million* of dollars in vindication of its integrity, we have a peculiar right to the benefit of it when it runs in our favor.[†]

1826. The treaty of 1818 expiring in 1828, the convention was renewed in 1826, but as before, no definite conclusion was arrived at, and the negotiation resulted in the following year, just where it had begun, the provisions of the former treaty being indefinitely extended, subject only to the additional stipulation, that either party desiring to abrogate it, might do so on giving twelve months notice to the other.[‡]

From the period after the sale of the Pacific Fur Company to the North West Association, (now merged in the Hudson's Bay Company,) and the consequent departure of most of the Americans, British subjects, consisting entirely of attaches of this latter body, acquired a preponderance in the territory, and by ingenious management of their wealth and power, continued for a time progressively to increase it. This circumstance has been very seriously brought forward by the supporters of the English title, as a new right to the territory they usurp; as if the tyranny their monstrous wealth had enabled them to exercise over every American citizen within the reach of their influence, gave them an additional right to outrage the Government by a usurpation of its title.

There is nothing overstrained in these remarks; indeed, they but very inadequately express the outrageous means resorted to by these affiliated tyrants to crush every interest opposed to them. The following extract taken from the work of Thomas P. Farnham, a traveller of ability and character, will afford some notion of their operations and policy:

"Fort Hall was built by Captain Wyeth, of Boston, in 1832, for the purposes of trade with the Indians in its vicinity. He had taken goods into the lower part of the Territory to exchange for salmon. But competition soon drove him from his fisheries to this remote spot, where he *hoped to be permitted* to purchase furs of the Indians without being molested by the Hudson's Bay Company, whose nearest post was seven hundred miles away.

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[*] See Appendix, No. 8.

[†] It may be captiously objected to this argument, that France derived her title from the cession of Spain in 1800, but it will be recollected that France originally acquired a title to the vast region watered by the Mississippi by the discovery of the mouth of that river by two French missionaries in 1663, and sustained it by subsequent exploration and settlement, which is our case exactly in regard to the Columbia. On this claim she held it for a hundred years, till by a treaty of policy in 1762, involving no question of validity of title, it was ceded to Spain, and by a similar arrangement, on similar considerations, it was in 1800 ceded back to France. Its sovereignty passed from hand to hand on the strength of the principle involved in the original title, and by virtue of that principle, it came to us.

[‡] See Appendix, No. 9.

In this he was disappointed. In pursuance of the avowed doctrine of that company, that no others have a right to trade in the furs west of the Rocky Mountains, while the use of capital and their incomparable skill and perseverance can prevent it, they established a fort near him, preceded him, followed him every where, and cut the throat of his prosperity with such kindness and politeness, that Wyeth was induced to sell his whole interest, existent and prospective, in Oregon, to his *generous* but too indefatigable, skilful, and powerful antagonists.

Mr. Farnham has written the word "generous" in good faith and honest Roman characters, as if he really thought it were generous in the H. B. Company, to give Mr. Wyeth a price for his property, after forcing him to its sale by the basest means! But Mr. Farnham ate a most superlative dinner afterward at Fort Vancouver, and this may somewhat account for the tenderness of his construction.

While we are upon this subject we will furnish the reader with a further insight into the corporate economy and operations of this association, from the same author.

"A charter was granted by Charles II., in 1670, to certain British subjects associated under the name of "The Hudson's Bay Company, in virtue of which they were allowed the exclusive privilege of establishing trading factories on the Hudson's Bay and its tributary rivers. Soon after the grant, the company took possession of the territory, and enjoyed its trade without opposition till 1787; when was organized a powerful rival under the title of the "North American Fur Company of Canada." This company was chiefly composed of Canadian-born subjects—men whose native energy and thorough acquaintance with the Indian character, peculiarly qualified them for the dangers and hardships of a fur trader's life in the frozen regions of British America. Accordingly we soon find the Northwest outreaching in enterprize and commercial importance their less active neighbors of Hudson's Bay; and the jealousies naturally arising between parties so situated, leading to the most barbarous battles, and the sacking and burning each other's posts. This state of things in 1819 arrested the attention of parliament, and an act was passed in 1821 consolidating the two companies into one, under the title of "The Hudson's Bay Company."

"This association is now, under the operation of their charter, in sole possession of all that tract of country bounded north by the northern Arctic Ocean; east by the Davis' Straits and the Atlantic Ocean; south and southwestwardly by the northern boundary of the Canadas and a line drawn through the centre of Lake Superior; thence northwestwardly to the Lake of the Wood; thence west on the 49th parallel of north latitude to the Rocky Mountains, and along those mountains to the 54th parallel; thence westwardly on that line to a point nine marine leagues from the Pacific Ocean; and on the west by a line commencing at the last mentioned point, and running northwardly parallel to the Pacific coast till it intersects the 141st parallel of longitude west from Greenwich, Eng., and thence due north to the Arctic Sea.

"They have also leased for twenty years, commencing in March, 1840, all of Russian America except the post of Sitka; the lease renewable at the pleasure of the H. B. C. They are also in possession of Oregon under treaty stipulation between Britain and the United States. Its stockholders are British capitalists, resident in Great Britain. From these are elected a board of managers, who hold their meetings and transact their business at "The Hudson's Bay House," in London. This board buys goods and ship them to their territory, sell the furs for which they are exchanged, and do all other business connected with the company's transactions, except the execution of their own orders, the actual business of collecting furs, in their territory. This duty is entrusted to a class of men who are called partners, but who, in fact, receive certain portions of the annual net profits of the company's business, as a compensation for their services.

"These gentlemen are divided by their employers into different grades. The first of these is the Governer-general of all the company's posts in North America. He resides at York Factory, on the west shore of Hudson's Bay. The second class are chief factors; the third, chief traders; the fourth, traders. Below these is another class, called clerks. These are usually younger members of respectable Scottish families. They are not directly interested in the company's profits, but receive an annual salary of £100, food, suitable clothing, and a body servant, during an apprenticeship of seven years. At the expiration of this term they are eligible to the traderships, factorships, &c., that may be vacated by death or retirement from the service. While waiting for advancement they are allowed from £80 to £120 per annum. The servants employed about their posts and in their journeyings are half-breed Iroquois and Canadian Frenchmen. These they enlist for five years, at wages varying from $68 to $80 per annum.

"An annual Council composed of the Governor General, chief factors and chief traders, is held at York Factory. Before this body are brought the reports of the trade of each district; propositions for new enterprises, and modifications of old ones; and all these and other matters deemed important, being acted upon, the proceedings had thereon and the reports from the several districts are forwarded to the Board of Directors in London, and subjected to its final order.

"This shrewd company never allow their territory to be overtrapped. If the annual return from any well trapped district be less in any year than formerly, they order a less number still to be taken, until the beaver and other fur bearing animals have time to increase. The income of the company is thus rendered uniform, and their business perpetual.

"Some idea may be formed of the net profit of their business, from the facts that the shares of the company's stock, which originally cost £100, are at 100 per cent. premium, and that the dividends range from ten per cent. upward, and this too while they are creating out of the net proceeds an immense reserve fund, *to be expended in keeping other persons out of the trade.*

"They also have two migratory trading and trapping establishments of fifty or sixty men each.—The one traps and trades in Upper California; the other in the country lying west, south, and east of Fort Hall. They also have a steam vessel heavily armed, which runs along the coast, and among its bays and inlets, for the twofold purpose of trading with the natives in places where they have no post, and of outbidding and outselling any American vessel that attempts to trade in those seas. They likewise have five sailing vessels, measuring from 100 to 500 tons burthen and armed with cannon, muskets, cutlasses, &c. These are employed a part of the year in various kinds of trade about the coast and the islands of the North Pacific, and the remainder of the time in bringing goods from London, and bearing back the furs for which they are exchanged.

One of these ships arrives at Fort Vancouver in the spring of each year, laden with coarse woolens, cloths, baizes, and blankets; hardware and cutlery; cotton cloths, calicoes, and cotton handkerchiefs; tea, sugar, coffee, and cocoa; rice, tobacco, soap, beads, guns, powder, lead, rum, wine, brandy, gin, and playing cards; boots, shoes, and ready-made clothing, &c.; also, every description of sea stores, canvas, cordage, paints, oils, chains and chain cables, anchors, &c. Having discharged these "supplies," it takes a cargo of lumber to the Sandwich Islands, or of flour and goods to the Russians at Sitka or Kamschatka; returns in August; receives the furs collected at Fort Vancouver, and sails again for England.

"The value of peltries annually collected in Oregon, by the Hudson Bay Company, is about $140,000 in the London or New-York market. The prime cost of the goods exchanged for them is about $20,000. To this must be added the per centage of the officers as governors, factors, &c. the wages and food of about 400 men, the expense of shipping to bring supplies of goods and take back the returns of furs, and two years' interest on the investments. The company made arrangements in 1839 with the Russians at Sitka and at other ports, about the sea of Kamschatka, to supply them with flour and goods at fixed prices. And as they are opening large farms on the Cowelitz, the Umpqua, and in other parts of the Territory, for the production of wheat for that market; and as they can afford to sell goods purchased in England under a contract of 50 years' standing, 20 or 30 per cent. cheaper than American merchants can, there seems a certainty that the Hudson's Bay Company will engross the entire trade of the North Pacific, as it has that of Oregon.

"Soon after the union of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies, the British Parliament passed an act extending the jurisdiction of the Canadian courts over the territories occupied by these fur traders, whether it were "owned" or "claimed by Great Britain." Under this act, certain gentlemen of the fur company were appointed justices of the peace, and empowered to entertain prosecutions for minor offences, arrest and send to Canada criminals of a higher order, and try, render judgment, and grant execution in civil suits where the amount in issue should not exceed £300; and in case of non-payment, to imprison the debtor at their own forts, or in the jails of Canada.

"And thus is shown that the trade, and the civil and criminal jurisdiction in Oregon are held by British subjects; that American citizens are deprived of their own commercial rights; that they are liable to be arrested on their own territory by officers of British courts, tried in the American domain by British judges, and imprisoned or hung according to the laws of the British empire, for acts done within the territorial limits of the Republic."

We have here an example of the very liberal construction the British government have put upon the common right to "navigate the bays, creeks and harbors of the coast. In defiance of a treaty expressly denying the arrogation of any right of sovereignty on the part of either of the high contracting parties over the other, it has seized upon the chief prerogatives, nay, the very essence of sovereignty itself, by the establishment of courts of judicature throughout the territory, and by the positive enforcement of its laws on all within it.

That this course justifies any extremity of counter action on our part, in the shape of immediate occupation, or otherwise, is plain to the judgment of any unbiassed mind. Indeed, when we consider the inimical influences that have been unfairly brought to bear upon the interests of our citizens—withering their enterprise and paralyzing their energies—we can hardly restrain from advocating retaliatory proceedings to fulfil the measure of redress.*

Having traced, in regular detail, the progress of every important event connected with the discovery and settlement of the North West coast and the territory of Oregon, we may now take a brief and comprehensive view of the whole subject, for the purpose of measuring at a glance the aspect and merits of the entire question.

We find, then, that a piece of territory, comprising four hundred thousand square miles, and lying on the North West coast between parallels 42° and 54° 40′ north, is claimed by Great Britain and the United states respectively.

We find that the English Government advance international law in support of their claims, and base their pretensions upon the principles which confer title by discovery, and which bestow the possession and sovereignty of the whole region drained by a river and its tributaries, upon the discoverer of its mouth; and we find that they have nothing better to offer than the voyages of Drake and Cook to entitle them to the benefits of the first, and that they seek to secure the latter by the exploits of *Meares* and *Vancouver!*

The United States accept these propositions, rebutting all the flimsy pretensions by which they are sought to be sustained on the other side, by the Spanish title; and confirming its own, independent of both, on the exclusive merits of having first discovered, first explored, and first settled the territory in question. The conclusions are established in the order following.

First—We find that Spain, whose claims are ours by purchase, had explored the coast as high as latitude 43° north, nearly forty years previous to the arrival of Drake at the same point, and we find in a series of national expeditions she stretched that exploration to the 58th degree in 1775, three years previous to the arrival of Captain Cook, on whose assumed discovery of Nootka, the English place their heaviest degree of reliance.

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* We have learned by recent information from Oregon, that the American settlers beyond the Rocky mountains have resisted the exercise of British authority, and formed a local legislature of their own. If our citizens should be able to sustain their new position, it does not alter the nature of the above aggression. The oppressor is none the less deserving of condemnation because he is obliged to relinquish the victims of his wrong.

Second—We find that the impudent claim for *Meares* (!) of the discovery of the Columbia, because he looked for and could not find it, is subverted by the superior claim of Heceta, (if either exploit furnishes a claim,) who sailed through its bay three years before, asserted its existence, assigned its precise latitude, and laid it down upon the Spanish charts.

Third—We find that Captain Robert Gray, of Boston, in the course of the years 1790 and 1791, discovered sounds, inlets, and channels; entered rivers and circumnavigated islands along the whole line of the coast; that in 1792, he next discovered the mouth of the Columbia, and navigated it to the distance of over twenty miles inland, before any other white man had ever seen it; and sorry are we to say, we also find that a mean and dishonorable attempt was made to rob him of the honor due to the daring exploit, by two British officers, who, though they sailed thither, months afterwards, with his charts for their guides, sought by a disgraceful quibble to appropriate his credit to themselves.

Fourth—We find that during the years 1796 and 1814, the trade and commerce of the north Pacific was carried on exclusively by our citizens, and that they rendered the geography of that region almost perfect by the numerous discoveries they made in ranging up and down its north west shores.

Fifth—We find that the British reliance on the pretended concessions of the Spanish treaty of 1790, is forced and fallacious, for the war of 1796 annulled its imperfect stipulations, and their clinging to it has no other effect than to substantiate the value of our purchase.

Sixth—We find that having triumphantly rebutted the English claims on the score of *discovery*, we beat them likewise on the points of exploration and settlement, for in 1805-6, a scientific commission appointed by our government, thoroughly explored the Oregon territory from the sources of the Columbia to the sea, and were in full possession of it by settlement six months, or a year, before a British establishment was made, even as low as 55° north.

And thus, to conclude, we find that every condition imposed by justice, every formality required by international law, has been performed by us to consummate our right to Oregon; and while all our dealings in reference to the subject have been straightforward, and in good faith, we have been met with nothing on the part of England, but arrogant assumption, low finesse, and vulgar cheatery. No wrong has been too bold for their attempt, no resource too mean for their adoption, and the contempt that is in one moment excited by the unworthy fetch of a pretended discoverer, or the miserable subterfuge of a conspiracy of geographers, gives place in the next to the indignation aroused at the unparalleled arrogation of a foreign corporation, of sovereignty over the free citizens of our Republic.

If we have submitted to this long enough, it is surely time for us to say so. Right knows of no degrees; Justice acknowledges no relationship with policy; and we should reject the proffer of a compromise as unworthy of the dignity of our claims. The acceptance of a composition, is at best but a submission to a portion of wrong, and the nation which takes but a share of its due, when it is strong enough to enforce the whole, is dishonored both in the eyes of its own People and of the world. Let us therefore settle this question as becomes us, and no longer stand in the humiliating position of negotiating with Great Britain, whether we shall have our own or no! We should be baffled no longer with the absurd pretensions of the Drakes, the Cooks, the Vancouvers, and the Meares, those diplomatic John Does and Richard Roes, who are only introduced to confuse the question, and to mislead its issues. We should disdain all compromises, and refuse all proposals of arbitrament. Monarchs are no judges for Republics. We should, in brief, reject the entertainment of any consideration short of the full, and unconditional RESUMPTION OF ALL OREGON, whenever such a policy shall be deemed by us to be necessary.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND GENERAL VIEW OF OREGON.

ITS ISLANDS.

HAVING satisfactorily established our title to Oregon, our next inquiry becomes, what it is, and how we may most readily and completely avail ourselves of its advantages. We have already shown in the foregoing pages, that Oregon is a vast country lying on the Pacific ocean, stretching along the coast through twelve degrees and forty minutes of latitude, extending its eastern limits into the body of the Rocky mountains, and embracing within those boundaries an area of four hundred thousand square miles. Attached to this immense territory, and extending along the whole line of its coast from the Strait of Fuca to its northern limit, and even beyond that to the Arctic sea, is a continuous chain of islands, known by the general name of the NORTH WEST ARCHIPELAGO, which in themselves can scarcely be regarded as less than a feature of secondary importance. The largest are all traversed by mountain ridges, in the direction of their greatest length, and the whole archipelago may be considered as a portion of the westernmost chain of mountains, broken off from the main land at the Strait of Fuca, and running through the sea, connecting those of Oregon on the south, with the range on the north, of which Mounts Fairweather and St. Elias are the most prominent peaks.

The first and chief of these islands is QUADRA AND VANCOUVER'S. This extends along the coast from 48° 30′, in a northerly direction, for the space of one hundred and sixty miles, and forms, by its parallel course with the coast, (from which it is distant about twenty miles,) the celebrated arm of the sea called the Strait of Fuca. Its average width is about forty-five miles, and it contains a surface of about 15,000 square miles. The climate of this island is mild and salubrious, and large portions of its soil are arable and capable of advantageous cultivation. It has an abundance of fine harbors, which afford accommodations for vessels of any size. The chief of these, is Nootka Sound, the Port Lorenzo of the Spaniards, a spacious and secure bay, running deep into the land, under parallels 49° 34′, and containing within itself many other harbors, affording most excellent anchorage.

A few miles south of Nootka, we come to another large bay, called Clyoquot, in which we have seen that Captain Kendrick preferred to remain during the winter of

1789, to any other harbor on the coast. There is another, still further south named Nittinat, which lies at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, and is filled with an archipelago of little islands. The coasts of this island, and indeed, the coasts of those above, abound with fine fish of various descriptions, among which the salmon predominate. In consequence of their fisheries, the islands are more numerously populated by the natives than the territory of the main land.

The next island of significance, is Washington, or Queen Charlotte's. It received the former title from Captain Gray, who circumnavigated it for the first time in the summer of 1789. It is triangular in its form, is one hundred and fifty miles in length, and contains four thousand square miles. After Gray's visit, it became the favorite resort of the American traders of the north Pacific. Its climate and soil are represented by Captain Ingraham as being extremely well adapted for agricultural purposes, particularly those portions in the vicinity of a fine harbor in latitude 53° 3' on its eastern coast, and at Port Estrada, or Hancock's river, on the north side.

The islands of the next importance below the southern cape of Prince-of-Wales' Island, (which is the point of our northern boundary line,) are Pitt's, Burke's, Dundas' and the Princess Royal groups. Most of these lie between Washington Island and the shore, and form a numerous archipelago, which renders the intervening navigation extremely tortuous and difficult. Between Washington and Vancouver's Island, are a continuous line of others, of considerable size, lying closer to the land, and following with their eastern outlines almost every sinuosity of the continental shore. These latter groups are for the most part uninhabited, and are composed of granite and pudding stone, which appear to be the prevailing rock north of latitude forty-nine. They are generally destitute of fresh water, and having but few anchorages, the strong, intervening currents render navigation perplexed and dangerous. They are only resorted to by the natives in the spring and in the fall on account of their fisheries.

THE COAST AND ITS HARBORS.

The coast of Oregon from the forty-second parallel to the mouth of the Columbia, pursues a northwardly course, and from that point, trends with a slight and gradual westerly inclination to the Strait of Fuca. Its profile consists of a bold, high, wall-like shore of rock, only occasionally broken into gaps or depressions, where the rivers of the territory find their way into the sea. The first of these openings above the southern boundary line, is the mouth of the Klamet. This is a stream of considerable size, issuing from the land in 42° 40', and extending into it to a distance of 150 miles. It has two large tributaries, called by the unromantic titles of Shasty and Nasty rivers, an error of taste, which it is to be hoped the future "Alleghanians" who inhabit their fertile valleys, will correct and reform. The bay of the Klamet is admissible only for vessels of very light draught; its whole valley is extremely fertile, and the country adjacent to the stream abounds with a myrtaceous tree, which, at the slightest agitation of the air, diffuses a fragrance that lends to it another feature of an earthly paradise. Between this and the Umpqua river, disemboguing in 43° 30', are two other small streams, neither of which, however, afford a harbor available for commercial purposes.

The Umpqua river is a considerable stream, entering the land to the distance of a hundred miles. It has a tolerable harbor, navigable, however, only for vessels drawing eight feet of water, and its stream, thirty miles from the sea, is broken by rapids and falls. Its valley is blessed with its portion of the general fertility of the lower region of Oregon, and consists of alternate groves of stupendous timber and rich arable plains. The Hudson's Bay Company have a fort at the mouth of the river, the site of which is the scene of a flourishing settlement. Five lesser streams find their way into the sea, at intervals, from this point to the mouth of the Columbia, and contribute their aid in fertilizing the extensive region lying between the coast and the parallel barrier running at the distance of a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles, known as the President's range of mountains.

The mouth of the Columbia is found at 46° 16′, but is only distinguishable from the sea, by a slight and gradual inner curve in the shore. Like all the harbors formed by the rivers on the *sea* coast, it is obstructed with extensive sand bars, formed by the deposits of the river on its meeting with the ocean, and, according to Lieutenant Wilkes, "its entrance, which has from four and a half to eight fathoms of water, is impracticable for two-thirds of the year, and the difficulty of leaving it is equally great." It is thought by some, that these obstacles may be removed in time by artificial means, but it is an extremely doubtful question whether it can ever be made an available harbor for vessels of any draught.

Passing Cape Disappointment, the northern headland of the river's mouth, we sail forty miles farther north, where we find a secure anchorage in Gray's bay, for vessels drawing ten feet of water; but this harbor is considered of little importance on account of the extensive sand flats, which usurp the greatest portion of its entire surface. From Gray's bay, to Cape Flattery, the southern point of the strait of Fuca, but two streams, and those of but trifling significance, break the overhanging barrier of the coast.

We have now traversed the whole coast of Oregon lying immediately on the Pacific, and in its course of five hundred miles, find but two places of refuge for vessels, (Gray's bay, and the mouth of the Columbia) and even these are of but trifling importance in a commercial point of view. Indeed, all geographical authorities agree, that none of the harbors on this portion of the coast, can be deemed safe ports to enter.

The next branch of the coast demanding our attention, is that which lies along the strait of Fuca. This immense arm of the sea cuts off the northward line of the coast at Cape Flattery, in latitude 48° 23′, and runs apparently into the land in a south-easterly direction for about a hundred and twenty miles. It then turns northwest by west, and following that direction for three hundred miles more, joins the sea again at Pintard's sound. The southern portion of this strait varies from fifteen to thirty miles in width, and the coast of Oregon along its course, is an exception in its maritime advantages, to the portion immediately on the sea. It abounds with fine inland sounds, offering a secure anchorage to vessels of the heaviest draught, and there are no portions of the interior navigation, which conceals a hidden danger. The straits can be entered in any wind, and the great rise and fall of the tides offer facilities for building maritime establishments unsurpassed in any portion of the world. Here, whatever direction emigration may for the present take, the commercial operations of the territory will eventually centre, and the din of our naval arsenals will proclaim to the world the fulfilment of the prediction that

> "The course of empire has westward found its way."

The most important branch of this strait is a spacious arm descending from its eastern extremity in a southerly direction, into the land to the distance of one hundred miles. It is called Admiralty Inlet, and the lowermost portion of it is known as Puget's sound. This inlet, like the other southern portions of the strait, is filled with splendid harbors, the southernmost of which, has the peculiar advantage of being within but little more than three hundred miles of the navigable waters of the Missouri. Great quantities of bituminous coal have been found in its vicinity, and there are other peculiar advantages attached to the station, which must eventually make it a point of the first importance. These circumstances have not escaped the watchful eyes of the Hudson's Bay Company, and they have already established a fort and a settlement there by way of securing possession of the point.* At the south-east end of Vancouver's island, there is a small archipelago of islands, which, though well wooded, are generally destitute of fresh water. They are, consequently, for the most part uninhabited. The coast of the main land along the north western course of the strait, is cut up and penetrated by numerous inlets, called from their perpendicular sides and deep water, canals. They afford no good harbors, and offer but few inducements to frequent them. One large river empties into the strait about latitude 49°, which pursues a northerly direction for several hundred miles. It is called the Tacoutche, or Fraser's river, and has a trading post named Fort Langley, situated near its mouth. The other portion of the coast to the north is much of the same character as that south of this river, on the strait. It is cut up by inlets and the numerous islands which line it, and the heavy fogs that are frequent in the region, render it at all times difficult to approach or to navigate.

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* The consideration of the maritime advantages of the southern coast of the Strait of Fuca and Puget's Sound, suggests a pretty feasible view of the remarkable liberality of Great Britain's

THE NATURAL DIVISIONS OF OREGON.

THE THREE REGIONS.

Oregon is divided into three distinct regions, by three separate mountain ranges, with an additional inferior chain, binding the extreme outline of the Pacific coast.

Overlooking the rim upon the ocean edge, the first chain we come to, is the Cascade Mountains, or as they are sometimes called, the *President's* Range. They start below the forty-second parallel, and run, on a line with the coast at a distance varying from 100 to 150 miles throughout the whole length of the territory; rising in many places to a height from 12,000 to 15,000 feet above the level of the sea in separate cones. Their succession is so continuous, as to almost interrupt the communication between the sections, except where the two great rivers, the Columbia and Fraser's, force a passage through; an achievement which they only accomplish by being torn into foam, plunged down precipices, or compressed into deep, and dismal gorges. This chain of mountains have obtained the title of the President's range, in consequence of their most elevated peaks having been named after the chief magistrates of the United States, by a patriotic American traveller.

The stupendous line runs from Mount Jackson to Mount Tyler, and there is yet room among their gigantic cousins, for several succeeding dignitaries. The idea which suggested their adaptation to our natural history was a happy one. Perpetual monuments in the archives of our nation, they form no perishable notes of heraldry for the contempt of a succeeding age, but basing their stupendous data upon the eternal earth, pierce with their awful grandeur the region of the clouds, to transcribe their records on the face of heaven. The first of them, Mount Jackson, commences the list, in 41° 10′; Jefferson stands in 41° 30′; John Quincy Adams in 42° 10′; Madison in 43°; Monroe in 43° 10′; Adams in 45°; Washington (the Mount St. Helens of the English) in 46°; Van Buren, north-west of Puget's sound, in 48°; Harrison, east of the same, in 47½, and Tyler in 49°. Of these, Mount Jackson is the largest, and is said to rise above the level of the sea near twenty thousand feet. Washington, which is next in size, is estimated at 17,000 to 18,000. This is the most beautiful of all. It ascends in a perfect cone, and two-thirds of its height is covered with perpetual snow.*

The region of country lying between this range of mountains and the sea, is known as *the first or lower region of Oregon.*

The Blue mountains form the next division. They commence nearly in the centre of Oregon, on parallel of longitude 43° west from Washington, and in 46° of latitude,

offer of the *Columbia* as the line of compromise. This, while it secures to her every navigable harbor, does not leave us one.

* The limit of perpetual snow for these mountains is, according to Lieutenant Wilkes, 6,500 feet from the level of the sea.

They run southwesterly from this point for 200 miles in an irregular manner, occasionally interrupted, and shooting off in spurs to the south and west.

The region between this ridge and the President's range, is called *the second or middle region.*

Beyond the Blue mountains and lying between them and the Rocky mountains, is *the high country, or third region of Oregon.*

The general course of the Rocky mountains is from south to south east. They run south from 54° 40', parallel to the coast (at a distance of 500 miles) for three hundred miles, and, gradually extend their distance from the sea by a continuous south easterly course to over seven hundred at the 40th degree. In these mountains, and their offsets, rise the principal rivers which find their way into the Pacific to the west, and the Gulf of Mexico on the east. Near the forty-second parallel is a remarkable depression in the chain, called "*the Southern Pass*" which experience has proved, affords a short and easy route *for carriages* from our states, into the territory of Oregon. Above the 48th parallel, again, other passes are formed by the course of the rivers, from either side, which find their way in some places between the mountains. There are other ridges intersecting the face of this vast country, but they are principally offsets or spurs of the three main chains already described. The principal of these, is the wind river cluster, on the east of the Rocky mountains, from which flow many of the head waters of the Missouri and the Yellow Stone rivers.

CLIMATE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE THREE REGIONS.

The third region or high country, is a rocky, barren, broken country, traversed in all directions by stupendous mountain spurs, on the peaks of which, snow lies nearly all the year. It is from two to three thousand feet above the level of the sea, and in consequence, the rivers flowing through it, westward to the Columbia, are broken at frequent intervals by the rugged descent, and rendered unnavigable almost throughout the whole of their course. There are but few arable spots in this whole section of territory, its level plains, except narrow strips in the immediate vicinity of the rivers, being covered with sand or gravel, and being also generally volcanic in their character. The distinguishing features of the territory are its extreme dryness, and the difference of its temperature between the day and the night. It seldom rains except during a few days in the spring, and no moisture is deposited in dews. In addition to these discouraging features, the climate, from its enclosure between these snowy barriers, is extremely variable, a difference of fifty and sixty degrees taking place between sunrise and mid-day. The soil is moreover much impregnated with salts, springs of which abound in many places. It will be seen by reference to the journal which forms the latter portion of this work, that some of these possess highly medicinal qualities, and from the beauty of their situation, will doubtless become, before time is done, the resort of the fashionable population of Western America.

Notwithstanding all these unfavorable qualities, there are many small prairies within its mountains, which, from their production of a nutritious bunch grass, are well adapted for grazing purposes, and in despite of its changeable climate, stock is found to thrive well, and to endure the severity of the winter without protection.

The second or Middle Region of Oregon, between the Blue and the President Ranges, is less elevated than the *third*, and consequently all the stern extremities of the latter's climate and soil, are proportionately modified. Its mean height is about a thousand feet above the level of the sea, and much of its surface is a rolling prairie country, with the exception of the portion above latitude 48°, which is very much broken by rivers and traverse mountain chains. It is consequently adapted only in sections to farming purposes. Plenty of game, however, is found in the forests of the country, to compensate for its unfitness for agriculture. Below this parallel, and in the middle of the section, are extensive plains, admirably adapted to stock raising, from the perpetual verdure always overspreading them, and from the salubrious climate that prevails throughout their neighborhood. Cattle thrive even better here than in the low country, and there is no necessity for housing them at any time; neither need provender be laid in, the natural hay found always in abundance on the prairies, being preferred by them to the fresh grass upon the bottoms. It is in this region the Indians raise their immense herds of horses, and here, whenever the territory shall be numerously settled, may be bred clouds of horsemen, who would not be exceeded by any light cavalry in the world.

The southern portion of this region as it advances to the boundary line, becomes less favorable to the purposes of man, and loses its fertility by rolling into swelling sand hills, producing nothing but the wild wormwood, mixed with prickly pear, and a sparse sprinkling of short bunch grass.

The first or lower Region of Oregon is that which lies along the coast and extends westward to the line of the President's range of mountains. The portion of this lying north of the Columbia and between it and the Straits of Fuca, is a heavily timbered country covered with forests of trees, of extraordinary size. It has, however, its spaces of prairie on which good pasturage is found, and it has also some fine arable land. This section is watered by four rivers, of which the Chickelis, disemboguing into the Columbia, and the Cowelitz, emptying into the sea at Gray's harbor, are the most important. The forests of this portion of the lower region are its great feature. They consist of pines, firs, spruce, red and white oak, ash, arbutus, arbor vitæ, cedar, poplar, maple, willow, cherry and yew, with so close and matted an undergrowth of hazel, and other brambles, as to render them almost impenetrable to the foot of man. Most of the trees are of an enormous bulk, and they are studded so thick, that they rise before the beholder like a stupendous and impregnable solidity, which declares futile all ordinary attempts to penetrate it. This astonishing exuberance is not confined alone to the timber of the section north of the Columbia, for we have an account of a fir growing at Astoria, eight miles from the ocean, on the southern bank of the Columbia, which measured forty-six feet in circumference at ten feet from the ground, ascended one hundred and fifty-three feet before giving off a branch, and was three hundred feet in its whole height. Another tree of the same species, is said to be standing on the Umpqua, the trunk of which is fifty-seven feet in circumference, and two hundred and sixteen feet in length below its branches. Prime sound pines, from two hundred, to two hundred and eighty feet in height, and from twenty to forty in circumference, are by no means uncommon. The value of this spontaneous wealth has already been appreciated by the acute company who reign commercially predominant in this region, for already their untiring saw mills, plied by gangs of Sandwich Islanders and servile Iroquois, cut daily at Fort Vancouver alone, thousands of feet of plank, which are transported regularly to the markets of the Pacific Islands.

But to return to that section of the lower region lying between the Columbia and the Straits of Fuca. The banks of the Cowelitz are generally bare of timber, but the soil in their immediate vicinity is for the most part poor. The Hudson's Bay Company, however, have a fine farm of 600 acres in its western valley, which in 1841 produced 7000 bushels of wheat. The average produce is twenty bushels to the acre. They have also a saw and grist mill now in operation there, both of which find a market for their products in the Sandwich and other islands of Polynesia. Live stock do not succeed well on these farms, and this is owing to the absence of low prairie grounds near the river, and also to the extensive depredations of the wolves. The hilly portion of the country immediately around, though its soil is very good, is too heavily timbered to be available for agricultural purposes, and this is also the case with many portions of the level land. There are, however, large tracts of fine prairie at intervals between, suitable for cultivation, and ready for the plough.

Proceeding northward, we came to Fort Nasqually, a fine harbor at the southern point of Puget's Sound. Here the Hudson's Bay Company have another fine settlement, and raise wheat, (15 bushels to the acre,) oats, peas, potatoes, and make butter for the Russian settlements. On the islands of the sound and on the upper sections of Admiralty Inlet, the Indians cultivate potatoes in great abundance. These vegetables are extremely fine, and constitute a large portion of their food.

Having disposed of this section, we come now to that portion of the lower region lying south of the Columbia, between the President's range and the coast. This by universal agreement is admitted to be the finest portion of all Oregon. It is entered by the Wallamette river, about five miles below Vancouver, which stream extends into its bosom over two hundred miles. This river is navigable for steamboats and vessels of light draught for nearly forty miles, when you come to a falls—the invariable feature of the rivers of this territory. Above the falls are the principal settlements of Oregon. Here the American adventurers have principally established themselves, and by the contributions of the emigrations from the States their number is rapidly increasing. As these settlements are described with some particularity in the journal which concludes this work, we will omit a particular account of them in this place.

The fertile portion of the valley of the Willamette is about two hundred and fifty miles long, and averages about seventy in width, making in all a surface of more than 17,000 square miles of rich arable land. The soil is an unctuous, heavy, black loam, which yields to the producer a ready and profuse return for the slightest outlay of his labor. The climate is mild throughout the year, but the summer is warm and very dry. From April to October, while the sea breezes prevail, rain seldom falls in any part of Oregon. During the other months, and while the south winds blow, the the rains are frequent, and at times abundant.

In the valleys of the low country, snow is seldom seen, and the ground is so rarely frozen, that ploughing may generally be carried on the whole winter. In 1834, the Columbia was frozen over for thirteen days, but this was principally attributable to the accumulation of ice from above. "This country," says Wyeth, "is well calculated for wheat, barley, oats, rye, peas, apples, potatoes and all the vegetables cultivated in the northern part of the Union. Indian corn does not succeed well, and is an unprofitable crop."

The following letter, recently received from Oregon, and giving an account of last year's crop, will serve to show the wonderful productiveness of this delightful region: *

"The harvest is just at hand, and such crops of wheat, barley, oats, peas and potatoes, are seldom, if ever to be seen in the States, that of wheat in particular—the stalks being in many instances as high as my head, the grains generally much larger—I would not much exaggerate to say they are as large again as those grown east of the mountains. The soil is good, and the climate most superior, being mild the year round, and very healthy, more so than any country I have lived in the same length of time. Produce bears an excellent price—pork, 10 cents; beef, 6 cents; potatoes, 50 cents; wheat, $1 per bushel. These articles are purchased at the above prices with great avidity by the merchants for shipment generally to the Sandwich Islands and Russian settlements on this continent, and are paid for mostly in stores and groceries, the latter of which is the product of those islands, particularly sugar and coffee, of which abundant supplies are furnished. Wages for laborers are high—common hands are getting from one to two dollars per day, and mechanics from two to four dollars per day. It is with difficulty men can be procured at these prices, so easily can they do better on their farms. The plains are a perpetual meadow, furnishing two complete new crops in a year, spring and fall, the latter remaining green through the winter. Beef is killed from the grass at any season of the year. If you have any enterprize left, or if your neighbors have any, here is the place for them."

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* The above is an extract of a letter from General McCarver, who is at present the Speaker of the Lower House of Oregon.

Of this valley Lieutenant Wilkes says, "the wheat *yields thirty-five or forty* bushels for one bushel sown; or from twenty to thirty to the acre. Its quality is superior to that grown in the United States, and its weight is nearly four pounds to the bushel heavier. The above is the yield of the new land; but it is believed it will greatly exceed this after the third crop, when the land has been broken up and well tilled. In comparison to our own country, I would say that the labor necessary to acquire wealth or subsistence, is in proportion of one to three; or, in other words, a man must work through the year, three times as much in the United States, to gain the same competency. The care of stock, which occupies so much time with us, requires no attention here, and on the increase alone, a man might find support."

South of the valley of the Willamette we come to that of the Umpque, in which is found large prairies of unsurpassable arable land, though the vicinage of the river is chiefly remarkable for its gigantic pine timber. Some idea of the extraordinary size of its forest trees may be obtained from the fact, that their seed cones are sometimes more than a foot in length. Below the Umpqua, we next arrive at the country watered by the Tootootutna, or Rouges River, and beyond that, to the voluptuous valley of the Klamet. These lower portions of the first region are thought by many to be the paradise of the whole territory, excelling in richness of soil and voluptuousness of climate, even the celebrated valley of the Willamette. Of this opinion is Lieutenant Wilkes, to whose exertions and researches we are indebted for most of our accurate geographical knowledge of the western portion of Oregon. Indeed, probability seems to be in favor of regarding the vallies of the Klamet, Tootootutna, and the Umpqua, as the gardens of the west, and the cause of the preference of the northern portions is to be attributed mostly to the readier access afforded to them by the avenue of the Columbia. Population, however, is already gradually encroaching further and further south, and but few years will elapse, before coasters will be running down to the mouths of these three rivers for their agricultural products.

The principal settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company is situated at Vancouver, on the Columbia; a point ninety miles from its mouth. At this station, the main branch of foreign commerce is carried on, and from it, the chief exports in the way of pine plank, the grains, butter, &c., is made to the Russian settlements, and to the islands of the ocean. They have another farm upon the Fallatry plains, west of the Willamette and about ten miles from Vancouver, which is also well stocked, and in productive cultivation.

Before concluding our description of this portion of Oregon, it may be well to state, that the continual influx of emigrants from the States at the station of the Willamette, and the occasional conflictions of interest, rendered it necessary, in the absence of protection from the laws of the Republic, that the American settlers should establish a territorial government for themselves. They have accordingly proceeded to constitute two Legislative bodies, to appoint a Chief Justice, and make the necessary ministerial officers to enforce his decisions.

The two houses meet at stated periods in the year for the transaction of all the necessary business of the little body politic, and the degree of importance which the new legislature has already obtained, may be estimated by the *fact* that the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company have accorded their acknowledgement of its powers, by applying through the chief governor of all the stations in the territory, (Doctor McLaughlin) for a charter for a canal around the Willamette Falls. The exclusive right was granted to him for twenty years, on the condition that he should, *in* two years, construct a canal around them sufficient for the passage of boats thirteen feet in width.

This recognition of the authority of the legislative confederacy would, however, be a politic course in the resident governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, even though he should be ever so averse to it; *for* such recognition would not affect the interests of his association in case it were overthrown by his own government, and it would afford him, meanwhile, an opportunity for the quiet pursuit of his plans. It is but just, however, to bear in mind that the jurisdiction exercised by the company over all the citizens in the territory, previous to this legislative convention, was not their own arrogation, but the investiture of the British Government, for its own special objects; and it is no less just to say, that this power was exercised by the gentleman above-named, during his rule, with a temperance and fairness, but seldom found in those who have no immediate superior to account to.

The letter that brings us this latter information, also tells us the Doctor has already commenced his work with a large number of hands, and that there is no doubt of his perfect ability to complete it within the time named. He was likewise constructing at the date of this information, (last August) a large flouring mill with four run of burs, which was to be ready for business last fall.

THE RIVERS.

Having completed a description of the general characteristics of the three regions of Oregon, there remains but one feature of its geography unfinished; and as that extends for the most part continuously from region to region, it could not be properly embraced in the particular account of any one. We allude to the course and characteristics of the Columbia river and its tributaries.

The northern branch of the Columbia river rises in latitude 50° north, and 116' west (from Greenwich) thence it pursues a northern route to McGillivary's pass in the Rocky mountains. There it meets the Canoe river, and by that tributary ascends north westerly for eighty miles more. At the boat encampment at the pass, another stream also joins it through the mountains, and here the Columbia is 2,600 feet above the level of the sea. It now turns south, having some obstructions to its safe navigation in the way of rapids, receiving many tributaries in its course to Colville, among which the Beaver, Salmon, Flatbow, and Clarke's rivers from the east, and the Colville and two smaller tributaries, higher up, from the west, are the chief.

This great river is bounded thus far on its course, by a range of high, well wooded mountains, and in places expands into a line of lakes before it reaches Colville, where it is 2,049 feet above the level of the sea, having a fall of 550 feet in 220 miles.

Fort Colville stands in a plain of 2000 or 3000 acres. There the Hudson's Bay Company have a considerable settlement and a farm under cultivation, producing from 3000 to 4000 bushels of different grains, with which many of their other forts are supplied. On Clarke's river the company have another post called Flathead House, situated in a rich and beautiful country spreading westward to the bases of the Rocky mountains. On the Flatbow also, the company have a post, named Fort Kootanie.

From Fort Colville the Columbia trends westward for about sixty miles, and then receives the Spokan, from the south. This river rises in the lake of the Pointed Heart, which lies in the bosom of extensive plains of the same name. It pursues a north westerly course for about 200 miles, and then empties into the Columbia. Its valley, according to Mr. Spalding, an American Missionary who surveyed it, may be extensively used as a grazing district; but its agricultural capabilities are limited. The chief features of its region are, (like those of the upper country, through which we have already traced the Columbia and its tributaries,) extensive forests of timber and wide sandy plains intersected by bold and high mountains.

From the Spokan, the Columbia continues its westerly course for sixty miles, receiving several smaller streams, until it comes to the Okanagan, a river finding its source in a line of lakes to the north, and affording boat and canoe navigation to a considerable extent up its course. On the east side of this river, and near its junction with the Columbia, the Company have another station called Fort Okanagan.

Though the country bordering on the Okanagan is generally worthless, this settlement is situated among a number of small, but rich arable plains.

After passing the Okanagan, the Columbia takes a southward turn and runs in that direction for 160 miles to Wallawalla, receiving in its course the Piscous, the Ekama and Entyatecoom, from the west, and lastly, the Saptin or Lewis River, from the south. From this point the part of the Columbia which we have traced, though obstructed by rapids, is navigable for canoes to the *Boat Encampment*, a distance of 500 miles to the north. The Saptin takes its rise in the Rocky Mountains, passes through the Blue, and reaches the Columbia after having pursued a northwesterly direction for 500 miles. It brings a large volume of water to the latter stream, but in consequence of its extensive and numerous rapids, it is not navigable even for canoes except in reaches. This circumstance is to be deplored, as its course is the line of route for the emigration of the States. It receives a large number of tributaries, of which the Kooskooske and Salmon are the chief. Our previous account of the arid and volcanic character of this region obviates the necessity of a farther description here. There is a trading station upon the Saptin near the southern boundary line, called Fort Hall, and one also near its junction with the Columbia, called Fort Wallawalla. The Columbia at Wallawalla is 1284 feet above the level of the sea, and about 3,500 feet wide. It now takes its last turn to the westward, pursuing a rapid course of 80 miles to the Cascades, and receiving the Umatilla, Quisnel's, John Day's and Chute Rivers from the south, and Cathlatate's from the north. At the Cascades, the navigation of the river is interrupted by a series of falls and rapids, caused by the immense volume forcing its way through the gorge of the President's range. From the Cascades, there is still-water navigation for forty miles, when the river is again obstructed by rapids; after passing these, it is navigable for 120 miles to the ocean. The only other great independent river in the territory is the Tacoutche or Frazer's River. It takes its rise in the Rocky Mountains near the source of Canoe River; thence it takes a north-westerly course for 80 miles, when it makes a turn southward, receiving Stuart's river, which brings down its waters from a chain of lakes extending to the 56th degree of latitude. Turning down from Stuart's River, the Tacoutche pursues a southerly course until it reaches latitude 49°, where it breaks through the Cascade range in a succession of falls and rapids, then turns to the west, and after a course of 70 miles more, disembogues into the Gulf of Georgia, on the Straits of Fuca, in latitude 47° 07′. Its whole length is 350 miles, but it is only navigable for 70 miles from its mouth, by vessels drawing twelve feet water. It has three trading posts upon it belonging to the company; Fort Langley at its mouth; Fort Alexandria at the junction of a small stream a few miles south of Quisnell's River, and another at the junction of Stuart's River. The country drained by this river is poor and generally unfit for cultivation. The climate is extreme in its variations of heat and cold, and in the fall months, dense fogs prevail which bar every object from the eye beyond the distance of a hundred yards. The chief features of the section are extensive forests, transverse ranges of low countries, and vast tracts of marshes and lakes, formed by the streams descending from the surrounding heights.

"The character of the great rivers is peculiar—rapid and sunken much below the level of the country, with perpendicular banks, they run as it were in trenches, which make it extremely difficult to get at the water in many places, owing to their steep basaltic walls. They are at many points contracted by *dalles*, or narrows, which during the rise, back the water some distance, submerging islands and tracts of low prairie, and giving them the appearance of extensive lakes.

"The soil along the river bottoms is generally alluvial, and would yield good crops, were it not for the overflowing of the rivers which check and kill the grain. Some of the finest portions of the land are thus unfitted for cultivation. They are generally covered with water before the banks are overflown, in consequence of the quicksands that exist in them, and through which the water percolates."

"The rise of the streams flowing from the Cascade mountains takes place twice a year, in February and November, and are produced by heavy and abundant rains. The rise of the Columbia takes place in May and June, and is attributable to the melting of the snows. Sometimes the swell of the latter is very sudden, if heavy rains should also happen at that period, but it is generally gradual and reaches its greatest height from the 6th to the 15th of June. Its perpendicular rise is from 18 to 20 feet at Vancouver, where a line of embankment has been thrown up to protect the lower prairie; but, it has generally been flooded during these visitations, and the crops often destroyed.

"The greatest rise of the Willamette takes place in February, and sometimes ascending to the height of 20 feet, does considerable damage. Both this river and the Cowelitz, are much swollen by the backing of their waters during the height of the Columbia, all their lower grounds being at such times submerged. This puts an effectual bar to the border prairies being used for anything but pasturage. This happily is fine throughout the year, except in the season of floods, when the cattle must be driven to the high grounds."

The lakes of Oregon are numerous and well distributed in the different regions of the territory. In the northern section, the Okanegan, (from which flows the river of that name), Stuart's and Frazer's, near the upper boundary; Quesnell's in [illegible]°, and Klamloop's in 51°, are the largest. In the central section, we have the Flatbow, the Cour d'Alène, or, "Pointed Heart," and the Kullespelm; and in the southern district, are the Klamet, the Pit, and an abundance of inferior lakes, as yet unnoticed on the maps, and for which geographers have not yet been able to discover names. Several of the latter, are salt, and, at intervals, we find chains of hot springs bubbling in some places above the ground, like those of Iceland. The smaller lakes are said to add much to the picturesque beauty of the streams.

The whole territory is well watered in all directions, and from the peculiar character of its rivers, their descent, the rapidity of their currents, and their frequent falls, there is perhaps no country in the world which affords so many facilities for manufacturing purposes, through the agency of water power. This is a peculiarly happy circumstance, when taken into consideration with the fact, that the timber overspreading the western portion and clustering around its mill sites, will, for a long time, form one of the principal exports in the markets of the Pacific. This will appear from the high prices which it now commands, and also, from the fact, that no other portion of the north west coast produces it. Already, trading vessels resort to the mouth of the Columbia to supply themselves with spars, and other necessary materials, and the improving facilities of inland intercommunication, has directed some of it from point to point within the territory.

Having now completed our account of the great physical characteristics of Oregon, our attention naturally turns to those portions of its natural history which are equally necessary to render a land serviceable to the wants of man. Of these, the first, and most important, are the fisheries. "These," says Lieutenant Wilkes, "are so immense, that the whole native population subsist on them." All the rivers, bays, harbors and shores of the coast and islands, abound in salmon, sturgeon, cod, carp, sole, flounders, ray, perch, herring, lamprey eels, and a kind of smelt or sardine, which is extremely abundant. The different kinds predominate alternately, according to the situations of the respective fisheries, but the salmon abound everywhere over all. This superior fish is found in the largest quantities in the Columbia, and the finest of them are taken at the Dalles. They run twice a year, May and October, and appear inexhaustible. To so great an extent is traffic in them already advanced, that the establishmet at Vancouver alone, exports ten thousand barrels of them annually. There are also large quantities of oysters, clams, crabs, muscels and other kinds of shell fish, found in the different bays and creeks of the country; and, to complete this piscatory feature, we are further told, that whales are also found in numbers along the coast and at the mouth of the Strait of Fuca, where they are frequently captured by the *piscivorous* aborigines.

Of game, an equal abundance exists. In the spring and fall, the rivers literally swarm with geese, duck, cranes, swans, and other species of water-fowl; and the elk, deer, antelope, bear, wolf, fox, martin, beaver, muskrat, grizzly bear and siffleur make, with them, the harvest of the hunter's rifle. In the middle section, little or no game is to be found, but in the third region, the buffalo are plenty, and form an attraction to numerous hunting parties of the Blackfeet and Oregon Indians.

The population of Oregon territory has been estimated by Lieutenant Wilkes, to be about 20,000, of whom 19,200 or 300 are aborigines, and the remaining seven or eight hundred, whites. This number, and its proportions, have, however, increased and varied considerably since the time of his estimate. The years succeeding his visit, beheld large emigrations from the States, and the white population of Oregon may now be safely set down as being between two and three thousand, of whom the majority are from the States. The largest portion of these are located in the valley of the Willamette, where, as we have already seen, they have adopted a government of their own. The other white inhabitants are sprinkled about in different portions of the territory, at the establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose officers and servants amount, in all, to between five and six hundred, but this number does not include their Iroquois and Sandwich Island serfs.

There are no means of ascertaining with accuracy the numbers of the aboriginal population, as many of them move from place to place in the fishing seasons; but, for the purpose of furnishing the reader with the nearest warrant for reliance, we will here insert a tabular statement, prepared by Mr. Crawford, of the Indian department, for the use of last Congress.

Indians west of the Rocky Mountains, in the Oregon district, and their numbers.

Nez Percés		Sokulks	3,000
Ponderas		Chimnapums	3,000
Flatheads	800	Shallatlos	200
Cœur D'Alene		Speennaree	240
Shoshonies	1,800	Saddals	400
Callapooahs		Wallawallahs	2,600
Umbequahs		Chopunnishes	2,000
Kiyuse		Catlashoots	430
Spokens		Pohahs	1,000
Okanagans		Willewahs	1,000
Cootomies		Sinnacops	300
Chilts	800	Chillokittequaws	2,400
Chinookes	400	Echebools	1,000
Snakes	1,000	Wahupums	1,000
Cathlamahs	200	Eusatours	1,200
Wahkiakumes	200	Clackamurs	1,800
Skillutes	2,500	Chanwappans	400
			29,670

The most numerous and warlike of the Oregon Indians are in the islands to the north, but on the main land, they are generally friendly and well disposed. They are, however, rapidly passing away before the advancing destiny of a superior race, and with the wild game, vanish gradually from the white man's tracks. Those remaining, are a servile and degraded class, who perform the meanest offices of the settlements, and readily consent to a mode of existence under the missionaries, and other settlers, but little short of vassalage. In the Wallamette valley, there are now left but a few remnants of the once numerous and powerful tribes that formerly inhabited it. At the mouth of the Columbia, there are some few of the Chenooks still left, and about the Cascades and at the Dalles still linger considerable numbers of this ill-fated and fast fading people. There is no longer any spirit left in them; their hearts are broken, their bows unstrung, and from lords of the soil, they have sunk to the degradation of its slaves.

The Kiuses and Nez Perces, still maintain a portion of their independence, but numbers of them, through the exertions of the missionaries, have made considerable advances in civilization, and many more would doubtless adapt themselves to a more methodical system of life, were not the first lessons of the science an exaction of their labors for the benefit of others. At the present, they can only be regarded in the light of a servile population, which, in the existing dearth of labor, is rendered of vast service to the active settler. In speaking of the influences of the missionaries over the Indians, Lieutenant Wilkes remarks: "They have done but little towards Christianizing the natives, being principally engaged in cultivating the mission farms and in the increase of their own flocks and herds. As far as my personal observation went, there are very few Indians to engage their attention, and they seemed more occupied with the settlement of the country and agricultural pursuits then in missionary labors."

The treatment of the Indians by the Hudson's Bay Company, is politic and judicious; they rigidly enforce that wise provision of their charter, which forbids the sale of ardent spirits, and in carrying it out, have even been known, upon the arrival of a vessel at the Columbia with spirits aboard, to purchase that portion of the cargo, to prevent others from defeating the wisdom of the prohibition. Schools for the native children are attached to all the principal trading posts, and particular care is extended to the education of the half breed children,* the joint offspring of the traders and the Indian women, who are retained and bred, as far as possible, among the whites, and subsequently employed, when found capable, in the service of the company. The policy of this course is obvious. The savage is gradually cured of his distrust, and coaxed into new connections. He abandons the use of his bows, his arrows and all his former arms, and the result is, that he soon becomes an absolute dependant upon those who furnish him his guns, ammunition, fish-hooks, blankets, &c.

The course oberved by this Company to American settlers, is equally politic. They are received with kindness, and aided in the prosecution of their objects so long as these objects are only agricultural; but no sooner does any of them attempt to hunt, trap or trade with the natives, then all the force of the body is immediately directed towards them. "A worthy missionary, now established on the Columbia," says Greenhow, "while acknowledging in conversation with me, the many acts of kindness received by him from the Hudson's Bay Company's agents, at the same time declared—that the would not buy a skin to make a cap, without their assent."

No sooner is an American trading post established, than a British agent, with more merchandise and a larger amount of ready money, settles down beside it, and by the superior advantages he gives the Indians, in paying high and selling low, drives the American trader to despair, and finally sends him, with his hopes crushed, and his enterprise destroyed, back to the States a ruined man. In pursuance of the same monopolising system, the Company endeavor to prevent the vessels of the United States from obtaining cargoes on the North West coast, and truth to say, they are generally successful in their object.

By its enormous wealth, its extensive stations, its able policy, and numerous retainers, this Company has indeed become a formidable body, and it is a matter of importance that we should make ourselves acquainted with its genius and its tendencies.

We have seen that it is the representative of the interests of Great Britain in Oregon; we have glanced at a few of the means it adopts to protect and further them, and now that recent events have given a subordinate aspect to their political position, it is of interest to examine the mode their sagacity has devised to meet and overcome the circumstances threatening their decline.

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* A natural obligation where so many are got.

The original object of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment in Oregon, was for the purposes of fur trading alone, and to that their operations were confined, until their investiture with the attributes of territorial sovereignty by the British Government. From that time, however, it appears they considered no person should be permitted within the limits of the territory, except by their consent, and hence their degeneration into a mere band of conspirators, as evidenced by the course of policy we have already alluded to. At length, however, the fur trade in the countries of the Columbia nearly ceased, and the Company were obliged to turn their attention to other objects. They have, it will be found, laid out farms on the most extensive scale, erected mills, established manufactures, entered into the fisheries, employed vessels for the purposes of commerce, and, in short, at the present moment, though they have lost the regal shadow, they present the aspect of a dominant corporation, whose enormous wealth enables it to engross everything above the mere pastoral and agricultural branches of industry, and to turn even the products of those, into their already overrunning coffers. This is not presented as a matter of complaint against the Hudson's Bay Company, for it is but the natural bent of wealth and corporative enterprise, to monopolise and grasp, to the destruction of every opposing influence, but it affords a subject of reproachful reflection against our Government, for not checking these tendencies, and counteracting their effects, by stretching its protection to those who fall within their reach. The maternal care of England for her subjects stretches to the most obscure extremity of the earth; while the eye of the Republic overlooks its despairing children even in a portion of her own immediate dominions.

PROPOSAL FOR

A NATIONAL RAIL ROAD,

FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC,

FOR THE PURPOSE OF OBTAINING A SHORT ROUTE TO CHINA.

Having ascertained what Oregon is, our next inquiry becomes, in what view it is of the most importance to us, and how we may most readily and completely avail ourselves of its advantages.

As an *agricultural country* it is of no great importance to a nation having contiguous leagues on leagues of land yielding the same products nearer at home, the abundant fertility of which has never yet been challenged by the spade or plough*; but as a commercial avenue to the wealth of the Indies and the riches of the Pacific, its value is incalculable.

In any view, whether agricultural or commercial, the advantages and worth of this territory depend upon the easiness of its approach from the States, and any means that are adopted to facilitate this intercommunication, will, according to their degree of efficiency, proportionably advance its destiny. Nature has already contributed to the object more liberally in the country under consideration, than to the same extent of any other portion of the globe. From the Missouri to the Rocky mountains spreads a plain scarcely broken by a hillock; through that stupendous ridge gapes a pass presenting no discouraging opposition to heavily laden wagons with single teams, and from its western side the banks of the Septin lead the traveller safely through to the navigable waters of the Columbia.

The time required for the journey by the present mode of travelling is from three to four months; but though this might suffice for the gradual drain of a surplus population, it will not meet the new designs which the full possession of this land of promise opens to us.

These designs are legitimately the same which have agitated the commercial world since the discovery of this continent, and they are now happily within our reach and accomplishment, by means of a Rail Road. As it is one of the main purposes of this work to urge this project upon The People of this country, and as it is filled with considerations of the weightiest moment, it will be necessary to treat it with that method and particularity which its merits demand, and which will adapt it to the ready and accurate comprehension of every understanding.

Our first purpose, therefore, will be to measure the value of the object we seek by philosophical inquiry, and by the estimation of its importance by other powers; and our second, to glance at some of the results that will flow from it to our benefit as a nation.

The commerce of the East, in every age, has been the source of the opulence and power of every nation which has engrossed it. By a silent and almost imperceptible operation, India has been through centuries the secret but active cause of the advancement of mankind, and while lying apparently inert in her voluptuous clime, has changed the maritime balances of Europe with the visit of every new nation that has sought the riches of her shores. Her trade imparted the first great impulse to drowsy and timid navigation; it revealed in the direction to its coasts region after region before unknown; it found for the guidance of the mariner new planets in the sky, and its restless spirit has not even been content to make mere than a temporary pause in the discovery of another world.* Like the Genii of the fable it still offers the casket and the sceptre to those, who unintimidated by the terrors which surround it, are bold enough to adventure to its embrace. In turn, Phoenicia, Israel,† Carthage, Greece, Rome, (through her vanquished tributaries) Venice, Pisa, Genoa, Portugal, Holland, and lastly, England, have won and worn the ocean diadem. *Our* destiny now offers it to us!

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* Our unoccupied public lands amount to 700,000,000 acres.

To shorten, by a western passage the route to the Indies, which now must be conducted circuitously around the fearful barriers of Cape Horn and Southern Africa, is a design that has long occupied the attention and aroused the exertions of all maritime nations. The first and most remarkable effort to effect it was made in the latter part of the fifteenth century, by Columbus, which resulted in the discovery of another world, and the search has been maintained with but little intermission, by the intervening ages, ever since. Exploring expeditions to both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts have pryed in every sinuosity of shore from latitude 50° South to the borders of the Frigid zone, and in the defeat of their exertions, projects have been formed even to pierce the continent to accomplish the design. As early as the seventeenth century, a company was formed in Scotland to improve the advantages offered by the Isthmus of Darien and Panama, for trade in the Pacific;‡ but the project being discountenanced by England at the violent remonstrances of her powerful East India Company, the subscriptions were withdrawn and the enterprise temporarily dropped. It was revived soon after by its indefatigable projector, who, having raised £700,000 and 1200 men, set sail in five ships to found a colony; but being denounced by the government and attacked by a Spanish force while its reduced numbers were suffering under disease and famine, they sunk under their accumulated misfortunes and abandoned the enterprise in despair.

From that time to this, the project of dividing the Isthmus has been a favorite theme with European philosophers and statesmen; but the subject appears never to have advanced beyond the bounds of mere speculation until later years. In 1814 it was revived by Spain, who this time seemed to be seriously in earnest in the matter. By a vote of her Cortes, dated April 30th, in the above year, the immediate commencement of the work was decreed, but the foreign and domestic troubles into which she was plunged at this period, rendered her incapable of carrying out the grand design.

The project found its next active and practical supporter in Bolivar, who in 1827 appointed a commissioner to ascertain, by actual survey, the *best* line either by rail road or canal, between the two seas. The commissioner reported in favor of the latter, and an estimate was subsequently made by a French engineer that a canal, forty miles in length, might be constructed across it, at an expense of less than three millions of dollars—but the untimely death of the illustrious patron of the scheme, put an end to its further prosecution. The next movement in the measure took place in 1842, when the Mexican government, upon application, empowered Don José de Garay, one of its citizens, to effect a communication across its territories, between the oceans, and invested him with the most ample rights and immunities, on condition of his completing the work. Don José, in pursuance of his grant, appointed a scientific commission that accomplished the survey in 1842 and 1843, the result of which, established the perfect practicability of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. Upon these grounds and the security of his govermental grants and privileges, its projector is now in London soliciting the aid of British capital to carry out the scheme.

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* The object of Columbus, was not, as long been erroneously supposed, the discovery of a new continent, but a shorter route to Cathay.

† Envying the success of the Phoenicians, David and Solomon, after having seized upon Idumea as a preparative, sent their fleets through the Arabian Gulf to Tarshish, Ophir, and other ports in Africa and India, and by this means diffused throughout the land of Israel "the wealth of Ormus and of Ind." It is to this source, doubtless, that the latter monarch specially owes his vast reputation for sagacity, as well as the splendor of his reign.

‡ This scheme was projected by William Patterson, who was supposed to have been originally, a South American Buccaneer, cotemporary with Sir Henry Morgan.

France, with the view of advancing the value of her oceanic possessions, is deeply alive to the importance of this measure. Under the special patronage of Guizot and Admiral Roussin, a private survey of the Isthmus has recently been made, the importance attributed to which, may be imagined by the careful suppression of its details from the public. Thus evidences multiply that the world will not much longer endure the petty obstacles which bar them from the long-desired western passage to the Indies. How important, therefore, that we, who have an engrossing interest in this subject, should protect ourselves from being outstripped by those whom our rapidly advancing destiny already promises to leave behind.

The English government, though the junction of the seas has been repeatedly and strenuously urged by the representatives of some of her most important mercantile interests, have betrayed an apathy upon the subject which, if not accounted for by the principles of her usually selfish policy, would appear inexplicable; but she doubtless reasons thus—

"'Let well alone.' By the present routes around the Cape of Good Hope, and through the Isthmus of Suez, we have a fair start with the best, and a superior chance over most other nations for the Indies; and while our established power in that region and our superior marine secures us a preponderance in her trade, it would be madness to contribute to afford superior facilities and advantages to others. Through her geographical position, the United States, from whose wonderful energies and fearful strides toward maritime equality we have everything to fear, can more readily avail herself of the benefits of this passage than any other nation. Her fleets would stream in one unbroken line through the Gulf of Mexico, her naval power would overawe our settlements on the North west coasts, and her impertinent enterprise, of which we have had a late evidence in China, would extend itself throughout our Indian possessions. The Marquesas Islands which, in case this project be carried out, lie directly in the road of navigation, would at a step advance into one of the most important maritime posts in the world, while the Society Islands also in the possession of France, would enhance immensely in their value. Worse than all, returning back, the vessels of all Europe, would ere long procure their tropical products from the newly awakened islands of the Ocean, and in just the degree that the value of Oceana would increase, our West India possessions would depreciate. By changing the route and extending it across the ocean instead of circuitously through it, we should voluntarily resign into other hands those commanding maritime and naval stations which we have won at the outlay of so much diplomacy and perseverance. The power and advantages of St. Helena, Mauritius, Capetown at the Cape of Good Hope, and the Falkland Islands commanding the passage round Cape Horn, will be transferred to New Orleans and other cities of the United States bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, to Cuba, Chagres, Panama and the Marquesas Islands. Let us, therefore, 'let well alone,' and be content with our present supremacy upon its present basis; unless indeed we can gain a superior advantage through the Arctic sea,[*] or monopolize a Mexican route to the shores of the Californias. The Isthmus passage must, however, be discouraged, and if persevered in, Cuba must at all hazards be obtained, to compensate in some degree for the losses we shall sustain on the African coasts."

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[*] NEW VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY.—It is in the contemplation of the British government to send out another expedition to the Arctic Regions, with the view of discovering *the*, or *a* Northwest passage, between the Atlantic and Pacific; and the Council of the Royal Society, having been solicited to give their opinion as to the desirableness of such an expedition, have stated, that independent of the great object to be attained, the benefits, that would accrue to the sciences of geography and terrestrial magnetism, render such an expedition peculiarly desirable. The Erebus and Terror, which were recently employed at the south pole, under Sir J. Ross, have returned in such good order, as to be ready to be made immediately available for employment on similar service.—*English Paper.*

This supposition is by no means strained. It is but a fair inference from Britain's well known selfish character and policy, and the United States would be justified in turning the proposition against her.

Having thus measured the importance attributed to the design of shortening the western passage to the Indies, by the immense sums which have been lavished, and the hazards which have been braved upon the mere *hope* of its accomplishment, is it not incumbent upon us to inquire if we have not within our own boundaries the means and facilities of effecting it, and if we have, is it not likewise incumbent on us to carry the long desired object to its fulfilment! We owe this to our own character, to our posterity, to the world—and we most specially owe to the genius of the Fifteenth century (which in the prosecution of this very plan redeemed us from the ocean) the completion of the purpose which we barred.

The circumstance of England's opposition to the plan (or to a similar one) is alone an urgent motive to the undertaking; the revelations of each succeeding day strengthen the opinion that our interests and policy are founded upon antagonistic principles. We are her natural rival upon the ocean, and as we advance she retires. We are the only power that ever baffled her arms, and the course of things have marked us as the heir of her strength, and the successor to her trident. Already, the commerce of the globe divided into eight parts, gives more than *five* between us two, and a sub-division affords but one part less to us than to her. Here, to use the expression of one of her own writers, is a "great fact;"—a fact so pregnant that it turns Speculation into Prescience, and points to the decree of Fate in our future and speedy preponderance. France understands the relative positions and interests of this country and Great Britain as well as, if not better, than ourselves, and is perhaps actuated to the interest she takes in the opening of the Isthmus by a more comprehensive policy than that which springs merely from the influences of an immediate self-interest. The spirit of her people is akin to ours, their natural bent of mind inclines them *for* democratic institutions, and their hearts beat towards us with sentiments of warm affection. To quote the language of one of their popular organs: She looks towards us as her natural ally and as the only power which can eventually release the ocean from the tyranny of Great Britain. If this hope live in France, how much stronger must its ray be cherished by those inferior powers who dare not aspire to rise above submission?

"There is a divinity that shapes the ends" of nations as of men, and we may discern the fulfilment of the maxim in the continual defeat of the most daring enterprise of man as applied to this design, through a period of four centuries. Not ripe for its great revolution, Providence has denied it to the world until the hour should arrive for the first great step toward perfecting the grand scheme of the creation. A thousand combining influences tell us that the time has come; the universal beams of knowledge have driven Superstition and Ignorance from the stage of action to mope in the dreary cells, which imprisoned under them too long the genius of mankind. Science having stripped experiment of its terrors, measures with accuracy the results of every assay, and despising the obstacles of Nature, whose elements, nay, even the forked lightning itself, she has fastened to her car, feels as capable of beating down the barriers of a continent as of measuring the distance to a planet. A new principle has been evoked, which though simple in its pretensions, and matter-of-fact in its operations, will share in future times the honor of the Mariner's Compass and the Printing Press, in civilizing and advancing man. The object of each is sympathetic with the other; the result of each must tend to the same end. Their principle is *intercourse*, and their spirit *progress*. The first, awoke our hemisphere from its sleep in the abyss; the second infused sentiments which turned the footsteps of our ancestors toward it; and we must now invoke the third, for the final accomplishment of its destiny!

It is true there is much that is startling in the proposition of a NATIONAL RAIL ROAD FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC OCEANS, and much that will strike the hasty observer as chimerical; but when we have seen stupendous pyramids raised by human hands in the midst of a sterile and shifting desert; while we know that despite the obstacles of Nature and the rudeness of Art, a semi-barbarous people, many centuries before the christian era, erected around their empire a solid barrier of wall, thirty feet in height, and so broad that six horsemen could ride on it abreast, carrying it over the most formidable mountains, across rivers on arches, and through the declensions and sinuosities of valleys, to the distance of *fifteen hundred miles*, let us not insult the enterprize of this enlightened age, by denouncing the plan of a simple line of rails, over a surface but a little greater in extent, without one half the natural obstacles to overcome, as visionary and impracticable.

Geographers variously estimate the greatest breadth of our country from ocean to ocean at 1,700 to 2000 miles.* Taking the largest estimate, and adding to it 500 miles, to allow for occasional deviation of route, and we have a distance of 2,500 miles; which at the moderate rate of fifteen miles to the hour,† can be accomplished in *seven days*. We have already from New York, a continuous line of rail-road and steamboat communication, laid out to Chicago, Illinois; proceeding from which point, directly along the 42d parallel, we find a smooth and gently rolling plain, without serious obstruction or obstacle in any part, until we strike the Great Southern Pass, through the Rocky Mountains, into Oregon. The following account of an expedition in wagons to this point, in 1829, will serve to show the nature of the facilities which offer themselves to the traveller through the region lying between the mountains and the States. It is an extract from a letter addressed by Messrs. Smith, Jackson, and Soublette, to the Secretary of War, in October, 1829, and published with President Jackson's message, January 25th, 1831:

"On the 10th of April last, (1829,) we set out from St. Louis with eighty-one men, all mounted on mules, ten wagons, each drawn by five mules, and two dearborns, (light carriages or carts,) each drawn by one mule. Our route was nearly due west, to the western limits of the state of Missouri, and thence along the Santa Fe trail, about forty miles from which, the course was some degrees north of west, across the waters of the Kansas,‡ and up the Great Platte River, to the Rocky Mountains, and to the head of Wind river, where it issues from the mountains.

"This took us until the 16th of July, and was as far as we wished the wagons to go, as the furs to be brought in, were to be collected at this place, which is, or was, this year the great rendezvous of the persons engaged in that business. *Here the waggons could easily have crossed the Rocky Mountains, it being what is called the* SOUTHERN *Pass, had it been desirable for them to do so*; which it was not, for the reason stated. For our support, at leaving the Missouri settlements, until we should get into the buffalo country, we drove twelve head of cattle, besides a milch cow. Eight of them only being required for use before we got to the buffaloes, the others went on to the head of Wind river. On the 4th of August, the wagons being in the mean time loaded with the furs which had been previously taken, we set out on the return to St. Louis. All the high points of the mountains then in view, were white with snow; but the passes and valleys, and all the level country, were green with grass. Our route back was over the same ground nearly as in going out, and we arrived at St. Louis on the 10th of October, bringing back the ten wagons, (the dearborns being left behind;) four of the oxen and the milch cow were also brought back to the settlements of the Missouri, as we did not need them for provision. The usual weight in the wagons was about one thousand, eight hundred pounds. The usual progress of the wagons was from fifteen to twenty miles per day. *The country being almost all open, level, and prairie*, the chief obstructions were ravines and creeks, the banks of which required cutting down; and for this purpose, a few pioneers were generally kept ahead of the caravan. This is the first time that wagons ever went to the Rocky mountains, *and the ease and safety with which it was done, prove the facility of communicating overland with the Pacific Ocean; the route from the southern pass, where the wagons stopped, to the Great Falls of the Columbia, being easier and better than on this side of the mountains, with grass enough for horses and mules, but a scarcity of grain for the support of men.*

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* McCulloch, in his Gazetteer, compiled from all the authorities, estimates the breadth at its widest stretch to be 1,700 miles—Professor Morse, in his Geography published in 1842, at 2000.

† Our Boston rail-road cars frequently travel at the rate of 25 miles to the hour, stoppage included.

‡ It must be borne in mind, that this departure from the direct line of route along the 42d parallel, is pursued by travellers with a view of obtaining water, and also game; which are invariably to be found in the vicinity of great rivers.

In addition to this account, which so satisfactorily establishes the feasibility of the work in view, we have the corroborative relation, if corrobration lends any strength to indisputable testimony, of Thomas P. Farnham, who, in his journal of a journey made from the Mississippi to the mouth of the Columbia, in 1840, gives us the following statement.

"Among the curiosities of this place, (Fort Boisé, a trading post on the Saptin,) were the fore-wheels, axletree and thills of a one-horse wagon, run by American missionaries from the state of Connecticut, thus far towards the mouth of the Columbia. It was left here under the belief that it could not be taken through the Blue mountains, but fortunately for the next that shall attempt to cross the continent, a safe and easy passage has lately been discovered, by which vehicles of this description may be drawn through to the Wallawalla." Here we have the testimony of an intelligent observer who has travelled over every inch of the route, as well that on this side of the mountains as the portion unexplored by the former party, whose account we have previously given. This, with numerous similar accounts in existence, among which is the journal at the end of this volume, must convince the most skeptical that a rail-road to and through this district of country is practicable beyond a doubt. There is reason to believe, however, that upon the careful preparatory survey which must be instituted, new notches through these formidable ridges may be found, still better adapted to the work in view, and in a more direct line with Puget's Sound, in whose commodious harbors our commercial operations in the Pacific, from the absolute absence of the requisite facilities on any southern portion of the Oregon coast, must necessarily centre.* Taking the practicability of the work therefore as established, it will not be improper to devote ourselves to a short inquiry as to the other modes and means of effecting the ultimate design.

In these, Nature herself volunteers her assistance to the enterprise. No ocean is so remarkably adapted to steam navigation as the Pacific. Its tranquil surface is scarcely ever agitated by a storm, and propitious winds and currents accelerate the course of the mariner across its bosom. The general motion of its waters is from west to east, at the average velocity of twenty-eight miles a day. In consequence, the sea appears on some portions of the coast to flow constantly from the land, and vessels sail with great celerity from Acapulco in Mexico to the Phillippine Islands, on the coast of Asia. The N. E. trade winds blow almost uninterruptedly between latitudes 5° and 23° north, and with the assistance of the currents and the flow of the sea, enable vessels within this region, to sail from America to Asia, almost without changing their sails. Our course to the Indies from the mouth of the Columbia, or from the Straits of St. Jean de Fuca, would be South West to the Sandwich Islands, and from thence, directly along the twentieth parallel, across. Returning by a more northwardly route, advantage would be taken of the polar currents which set N. W. towards the Straits of Behring, and also of the variable winds prevailing in the higher latitudes. Having crossed our continent in seven days, we span the Pacific in twenty-five more, and thus in thirty-two, reach the ports of China: by the same route back, the products of the East may land upon the shores of Europe in forty-six days; a period of time but little more than one third of that now taken to make the ordinary passages around the southern extremities of America and Africa.

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* By crossing the river at Wallawalla and proceeding in a direct line along the banks of the Eyakema river, the distance is shorter to the harbors of Puget's Sound than to the shores of the ocean.

The view that this opens to the mind, independent of its internal benefits, staggers speculation with its immensity, and stretches beyond all ordinary rules of calculation. A moderate forecast may, however, foresee the following results. The riches of the most unlimited market in the world would be thrown open to our enterprise, and obeying the new impulse thus imparted to it, our commerce would increase till every ocean billow between us and the China sea would twinkle with a sail. By the superior facilities conferred upon us by our position and control of the route, we should become the common carrier of the world for the India trade. "Britannia rules the waves," would dwindle to an empty boast, and England would have to descend from her arrogant assumption of empire o'er the sea, to the level of a suppliant's tone, in common with the great and small of the European powers, for the benefits of this avenue of nations. The employment as common carrier could be secured to us by the imposition of a tonnage duty, heavy enough to amount to a prohibition, upon all foreign bottoms arriving at our Pacific coast. There is nothing remarkably selfish, neither is there any thing repugnant to fair dealing in this regulation; we are deserving of one special advantage as a premium for conferring this benefit upon all, and we have the example of Great Britain herself, to justify us in the adoption of the rule. The rapid and excessive increase of our commercial marine would necessarily follow this result. Encouraged by the comparative ease and safety of its service, and enticed by the liberal wages which the demand for so many hands would ensure, thousands of our young men, whom the dangers and privations of a seafaring life have heretofore deterred from carrying out the natural desire of visiting foreign climes, would embrace the sailor's occupation, and a nursery would thus be established, from whose exhaustless sources the demand of our increasing navy would always find a supply.

Our contiguity and other peculiar advantages would ensure us the pre-emption of all the markets of the Pacific. Our rapidly increasing cotton and other factories, under this impulse would increase anew; our extending agricultural operations would widen till they waved their golden harvest o'er and o'er the land, and together they would distribute their products along the western coasts and diffuse them among the islands of the ocean. In return, Oceana, whose trade and consumption both would greatly multiply by the same imparted motive, would pour her treasures into the bosom of our country, and render us, by her liberal supply of tropical productions, independent of the West Indies. Our exportations of flour, at the exorbitant rates which it commands in the markets of these regions, would alone be a source of immense wealth, and on the other hand, the profits of a new article of import from the coast of Peru, can scarcely be regarded as of less importance. Guano, but little known in 1840, is now exciting the deep attention of the cultivators of the soil of all nations, and to such an extent has its trade increased, that from the importation of but a few tons five years ago, six hundred vessels of a large class are now employed in supplying the wants of Great Britain and Ireland alone. It is already beginning to be introduced into this country, and ere long we may expect to see its supply increase in a corresponding ratio with the European demand. Now, it comes to us surcharged with the expenses of a long and dangerous voyage; then, it would be obtained at one half its present charges, and we should be furnished with the most valuable fertilizer known to man, for the benefit of the impoverished portions of our Oregon soil. The chief obstacle to the dense population of that territory is, therefore, providentially obviated.*

Our Whale fishery and other branches of commerce in the Pacific, would be better protected, and the prosecutors of the former would have convenient ports to refit in; to seek a hasty refuge at in case of war, and to obtain the speedy means of redress from, should they be made the victims of the outrage of any foreign naval power.

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* "There will be no difficulty," says a work written in Liverpool on the above subject, "in obtaining from the coast of Peru for the next 1000 years, a supply of guano adequate to the wants of the British farmer."

An additional proof of the necessity of increasing our naval power in this quarter is furnished in the late account of the ravages of the Pirates of the Asiatic Isles, upon European vessels.

Our relations with China would be guarded and strengthened, and in case a necessity should arise to redress a wrong, resent an insult, or resist an aggression, we should be able, helped by the speed of our advices, to throw a preponderating military force there three months previous to any European power.

There are other views which open at this stage of the analysis, upon which it will not be improper to bestow a share of our consideration.

The vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean has been as yet but imperfectly explored, and there is reason to believe there are many islands reposing on its bosom whose fertile shores have never met the eye of man. Some of these ocean gems lie directly in our eastward or westward track, and their value to us as resting places and points of supply, as well as posts for the erection of our fortifications, would be inestimable. This brings to mind the fact that there is one important branch of commercial policy, hitherto overlooked and neglected by us, which the course of things now call upon us to adopt; and that is the securing under our own flag and rule of maritime posts in the different fields of our commercial enterprise. We may be told that this is an infraction of our constitutional economy, a violation of the spirit of our institutions, and that it springs from a wild and disordered lust for power which will eventuate in our dissolution; in short every argument will be brought forward by philosophers learned in mill-stones, to oppose the aggrandisement of the country on the principle of *aggregation*. These sachems have been told in their primary classes at school, that Greece and Rome fell by their unbounded ambition, and it would take little short of a defeat of Nature to dispossess them of the idea. They therefore, make it a *primary* object to denounce every extension of territory as demoralising and destructive, and point triumphantly to History to establish the assertion. Admitting this to be the case, though it applied to the Greeks and Romans, in an early age, and might apply to any other nation in the same cycle, it does not apply to us in the present time. We are a new people, in a new era, acting on new principles, and working out a new and grand problem for the benefit of mankind. "History," to make a grotesque application of a common term—"is behind the age." But aside from our exception from their rule, their proposition is false as to its facts, and carries absurdity in its very face.

How did Greece become great enough to *decline*—and how did Rome from a speck upon a hill-top win the Imperial diadem that marked the mastery of a world? Surely not by building fences around their original limits, and vowing never to go beyond. Such a resolution would share credit for sagacity with the refusal of a handsome fortune by a needy man, because at some day he must die and leave it, and might also be compared to that stretch of forecast which would induce a statesman to refuse all worldly power and honours, because forsooth, they must descend to a successor. Nations do not perish in a moment; they are neither swallowed up in the earth like Korah and his company, nor do they go out like the snuff of a candle; they have degrees to their decline, and while it is perfectly easy to detect all the natural causes of their decease, we have no excuse in closing our eyes upon a fanciful hypothesis, which finds its basis only in the imagination.

How did Greece and Rome fall? Not by the extension of territory as a cause, (though to maintain its extreme points weakened her in her decline,) but by the vices which crept into her constitution; from the progress of those corruptions which are inseparable from aristocratical systems; from ignorance of the true principles of government, and consequently from the effect of unequal laws and unequal representation. The distant tributary, suffering under the exactions of a subaltern despot and his military bands, being too far removed from the parent government to represent its grievances within a period to give redress a value, and at the same time, too far removed to dread its enervated power, threw off the allegiance which only imposed onerous conditions and conferred no benefits but a humiliating peace. The example of defection thus safely set, was followed by another and another, and attacked at the same time by a new, vigorous and innumerable enemy, Rome fell. She fell through her own debasement, and her genius retired before the superior vigor and energy of an uncorrupted race. The extreme extension of territory in an age when travelling could only be accomplished with insuperable difficulty would doubtless rather weaken than strengthen a nation's power, from the difficulty, of striking rapidly at rebellion, but where the communications are as speedy and complete as they are in the present day, the comparison will not apply. Rail Roads, Steam Engines, and the Magnet, have "annihilated space, and exploded all theories which rested on the accidents of time and distance;" an expanded order of intelligence has shown the benefits of union in a common system, and though our dominion stretched throughout the boundaries of this hemisphere, with the elements for our agents, and the lightning of heaven for our slave, we could bind its extremities together in a moment, and throw the impulses of our power from end to end, with the rapidity of thought.

By overlooking the means of protecting our marine by the discovery or purchase of those island stations, we are behind every nation in the world in commercial sagacity. France rears her fortifications on the coasts of Morocco, in the islands of the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian oceans, and by a late arrangement, even plants her standard in the very mouth of Canton. The Dutch own the richest of the Asiatic isles, and Spain rules absolute in the Philipines. Russia, not content with over 7,000,000 square miles, extending from central Europe to the extremity of eastern Asia, has made a lodgment on our continent, and marks the line of her possessions to the North, as a bar to our farther advance; and even Portugal and Denmark, hold their warlike posts in many parts of the Atlantic ocean. The acquisitions of England are so well known they hardly need recapitulation. It has been well said, that the Sun never sets upon her dominions, and that the thunder of her morning gun from post to post around the world, falls into the measure of a continuous salute.

Gibraltar, Malta and the Ionian Isles, give her the control of the entire Mediterranean; St. Helena, Ascension Island, Cape Town and Mauritius, keep watch along the coasts of Africa; she has settlements, fortifications and territorial governments over all the shores of Hindostan, and her power extends throughout the whole of the Eastern region. Further south, her empire spreads over the whole of Australasia;—Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Bermuda, the Bahamas and her West India Islands, command the entire stretch of our Atlantic coast and the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico, while Canada environs us upon our Northern border; yet probably England would be the first to assure us, in connection with some of our own good advisers, that extension of territory is the sure cause of a nation's eventual destruction. She, however, pursues this policy herself, with the knowledge that it adds to her aggrandisement and power at every new stage of its consummation. With a view of aiding her steam navigation across the Pacific, she has lately purchased a little island in it, on which two coal mines have been discovered; she has not even thought a miserable patch of ground on the Mosquito shore,* too insignificant to seize, and she is now, doubtless, intriguing for the prize of Cuba and the Californias. Russia is ready to devour Turkey or engulf another Poland. Austria has long looked with a greedy eye upon the plains of Italy; and every power on the face of the earth, seek new acquisitions with the utmost avidity; while the United States, as if she had not recovered from the astonishment of falling suddenly into the possession of 2,000,000 square miles 68 years ago, folds her unassuming hands, and with an amiable bow which betrays the modesty of her character, exclaims, "thank you, Gentlemen Powers, not a bit more if you please!"

* This was seized on pretence of it being a bequest from an African chief.

The opposers of the course of policy we advocate, if not able to defeat it on the grounds of reason or precedent, will find their last resource in the tyranny of prejudice, and the opinion of Washington, will doubtless be appealed to, as a settler of the proposition out of hand. The age, however, has outgrown this species of control. Our notions of liberty have become extended to the degree that embraces the right of judging for ourselves; and we feel no fear of startling the horror of our readers by the assertion that there are at least half a million of people in the United States, who, from the new principles which science has envoked in the present generation, are better judges of the effects of the adoption of this policy, now, than Washington, or any other man, who died forty-five years ago, could possibly have been. There is too much of this knuckling to precedent and old opinion. We can benefit by the experience of a past age, without becoming the hereditary bondsmen of their ideas: we can treat its wisdom with all the consideration it deserves, without presenting the absurd spectacle, of a people claiming to be free, who have absolutely signed away freedom's main component in the *liberty of mind.*

Again, vast countries still lie in the fairy regions of the East, the productions and resources of which are scarcely known to us, and that only await the civilising influence of such a scheme as this, to throw down their barriers of prejudice and superstition, and embrace with the rest of mankind, the social blessings of the world. Of this nature and character is the opulent empire of Japan. Though second but to China itself, it holds no intercourse with foreigners, and only permits one nation (the Dutch) to land upon its dominions. Ought it to be too much for American diplomacy to effect its commercial and social redemption and throw its rich markets open to our enterprise.

The Oregon route, should this project be carried through, would, for its shortness, for its safety, for its comparative comfort and the accuracy with which the duration of its travel could be calculated, be selected in preference to any other by all travellers to the East, or the regions of the Pacific. These would comprise among their number ambassadors and their suites; consuls and other government officers to China and the Indies, to New Holland, to the ports of the western coast, and the islands of Polynesia, and enticed by the facilities afforded to them, many who otherwise would never have attempted the perils and discomforts of the old voyage, would make a trip to the Indies or some island paradise in the Pacific, leaving us as they passed leisurely through our territory, a portion of their wealth. Add to this source of profit, the toll of the enormous amount of foreign merchandise which must seek this avenue, or be shut out from a market altogether, and the postages which the great number of letters pouring in from every part of Europe would afford, and its revenues would be immense indeed. Yet the sources of all this vast income would be surplus profit, for a short experience would prove, that our own internal trade, communications and postages, would not only pay the current expenses of the road of themselves, but would afford a liberal per centage on the amount of capital invested.

Experience has proved that no direction which can be given to human enterprise, is so active and effectual in developing the resources of a country, as that involved in rail-roads; and without any regard to its stupendous national advantages, both external and domestic, immediate and ultimate, it would be found that the result of this project would justify the undertaking merely as a measure of internal improvement.

The navigable distance to the mouth of the Columbia is now, by the route around Cape Horn, about 19,000 miles from the port of New York; by the proposed route, it would be less than 3,000; which affords the enormous saving of 16,000 miles. The natural effect of such a communication across the continent would be the rapid settlement of Oregon, the sudden growth of a great commercial and manufacturing city at its Pacific terminus, and the establishment of a naval station on Puget's Sound. For both of these latter objects, every facility is providentially afforded. Fine building stone abounds in every direction, the best timber in the world stud its forests, the country in the neighborhood of the ocean abounds in favorable sites for water power, and for the sustenance of steam navigation, large mines of coal are to be found in different parts of the country. For the establishment of a naval station, the harbors of St. Jean de Fuca and Puget's Sound, offer, as we have already seen, peculiar facilities for the erection of the works of a great maritime nation.

The cost of the work is the next branch of inquiry that demands our attention. For a guide to an estimate of this we have the tabular statements of the American Rail-road Journal, (a reliable authority,) which by a late computation, sets the aggregate number of miles of rail-way in this country at 5,000; the cost of which has been $125,000,000, or $25,000 per mile.

As a portion of this expense is occasioned by land damages, or land for the track, most of which lies in thickly settled, and, consequently, valuable sections of the country, we are entitled to a deduction in favor of the work under consideration. The rate of this may be obtained from the example of the Boston and Lowell Rail-road, the land damages on which amounted to $2,842,47 per mile. We will apply this substraction to but 1500 miles of the proposed work, and also strike the amount down to $2,500 a mile, to make a smoother computation. Thus we have

2,500 miles of road at the rate of $25,000 per mile, ...	$62,000,000
A deduction of $2,500 per mile from 1,500 miles, ...	3,750,000
	$58,250,000

Making an aggregate of fifty-eight millions and a quarter for the completion of a design which will render every nation on the globe our commercial tributaries. This, however, is a most extravagant estimate, and the cost will probably not amount to within several millions of that sum. The distance is very roughly calculated from the absence of accurate information on the subject, and the cost is purposely amplified to secure being on the safe side of the calculation. We are justified in the opinion that it will be much less, by the fact that there is at present a private project before Congress which proposes to perform the work at a cost of $25,000,000, on the somewhat modest condition, by the way, of receiving a grant of public lands *sixty miles in width* along the track, from Illinois to the Pacific ocean.

The cost of the work, therefore, even though it should amount to a *hundred* or a hundred and fifty millions, is no argument to urge against the undertaking, for it would be disgraceful to our national character to impute to government an inability to carry out a design which is within the scope and means of a company of private individuals. The resources of our country are fully equal to the enterprise. No patriot believes, no statesman dare affirm, that we are unable to sustain the expenses of a three years' war with the most powerful nation of Europe; yet this undertaking, at its utmost estimate, will not cost as much as a three years' war, and instead of leaving us, as a war would do, enfeebled, exhausted, and depressed, its completion would find us regenerated with new life, with our impulses awakened, our energies strengthened, and advancing forward with a rapidity and vigor that would astonish even Destiny itself. Let us deprecate, therefore, from the consideration of this work, that fatal spirit of Economy which has been the Evil Genius to so many a great design.

Economy is the besetting sin of Representative governments. Deceived by its plausible exterior, and tickled with the notion that it is an essential element of primitive simplicity, philosophers, whose mental scope reaches no further than the piling up of particles on the simplest rule of simple addition, oppose its blighting influence to every noble scheme, and advocate it on all occasions and with the utmost vehemence as a cardinal principle. They do not see, or they do not care to see, that the thrift which hoards the seed to defeat us of the harvest, is the grossest form of waste; that it amuses the present with a straw, to cheat the future of its golden fields. They proceed upon the false idea, that the multitude more readily appreciate the rule that saves a penny now, than the design which subtracts one on the hazard of the return of a pound hereafter; and it is through this corrupt and contemptible consideration, this pin-hook angling in the muddy waters after popularity, that we find a prevailing meanness in all our measures of expenditure. A meanness that runs from the remuneration of the chief magistrate of the Union to the purchase of a territory, from the starvation of an African lion,* to the presentation to an Imaun of a piece of lacquered plate;† till at length it degenerates into injustice and dishonesty in its disregard of the rights of revolutionary claimants, and in the non redemptions of the continental paper which gave its illusory consideration for the blood of thousands of patriotic hearts.

A sufficient amount of funds can be obtained for the commencement, nay, the entire completion of the whole work, from the sales of the public lands alone. As soon as the survey is made and the route laid out, the land in the immediate line of the track will be sought with the utmost eagerness by speculators, for investments of their capital. It will rise at once to an immense value, and it would not be extravagant to expect that in less than one year from the marking out of the line, more than thirty million of dollars would pour into the treasury of the Receiver of Sales. Additional sales could then be made as the road progressed, to a still better advantage, and before the completion of the work, the Government would find its waste domain of unavailable prairie turned as if by magic into marketable acres.

The road, as it progressed, would be employed up to the point of its completion, by our merchants, our traders, and our emigrants. The great amount of trade and travel, which sets out from this point, (New York,) through the western states to the Mississippi, and returns the same way back, would enable it to go very far toward sustaining its own existence.

It may strike some as superogatory in the Government to undertake this work when it is offered to be accomplished, and all its consequent advantages secured to our hand, by private enterprise; but there are many, and insurmountable reasons why it should be a national undertaking, and not left at the mercy of a band of speculators, whose narrow objects would be private gain.

It should be national, because its objects and purposes are national; and because its accomplishment will advance the glory as well as ensure the safety of our country, and beneficially affect the interests of all its citizens.

Because being the high road for all nations, its transactions will have an important bearing upon our foreign relations, and its regulations will consequently be govermental in their nature and policy.

Because the undertaking is too gigantic for the successful enterprise of individuals, who, if ever able to accomplish it at all, will not be able to do so with that despatch, which the general interests of the country, our views in relation to Oregon, and the ardent wishes of our people demand.

Because the immense revenues arising out of it, and the wide domain accompanying the grant, (Whitney's memorial asks for a strip of public land 60 miles in width, from Lake Michigan to the Western ocean,) would create a monopoly liable to the most dangerous abuses. From the great number of its employees, the numerous settlers upon its lands, most of whom it would be able to coerce, and its enormous wealth, it would grow into a stupendous power, which, if not capable of rivalling the Government itself, might at any rate, exercise such a control by these combined influences over its representation in Congress, as would place our dearest privileges at its disposal. As a protection, on the other hand, against a perversion of its patronage by the Government, we should have to rely on the honor, the purity, and patriotism of our Presidents; a guarantee somewhat more substantial it must be admitted, than the cupidity of individuals.

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* The Emperor of Morocco sent us the present of a lion of the desert, which, after its arrival, barely escaped starvation through the humanity of a showman, who subsequently purchased it for his menagerie.

† The Imaun of Muscat, as an overture for a commercial arrangement, sent us two superb milk white Arabian coursers, with a slave accompanying each. We returned among other things, a row boat with silver plated rowlocks. The pure ore would not have cost a hundred dollars more.

Because, the object of a Democracy, while it secures to Enterprise and Talent, their rewards, is to equalise the benefits of heaven to all, and the act which would avowedly confer special facilities for the amassment of enormous wealth on any body of men, is in derogation of its own comprehensive scheme. A bounteous Providence has made the productions of the earth equal to the wants of all its creatures, and it is a demonstrable rule that every usurpation of an excess is followed in some quarter by a corresponding loss. This tendency, through the peculiar construction of society, cannot be helped at present, nor can it be corrected in a day, but it is incumbent upon us, whom a wise director has delegated to work out a system for the elevation of mankind, to interpose no obstacle to its consummation, by specially encouraging an infraction of the plan.

The first results of a private grant of the nature of the one proposed to the last Congress, would doubtless be as follows: As soon as the route had been surveyed, maps would be prepared, dividing the whole into sections for sale. Then a formal, and ostentatious opening of the road would follow. A vast collection of people would gather together to see the show, and amid the thunder of cannon, the waving of colours, and the swell of martial music, some public spirited gentleman would strike a spade into the ground while the wild huzzas of the admiring multitude would make the welkin ache again.

This herculean effort over, the company, after staving in the heads of a few barrels of beer to whet the whistles of the crowd, would retire to a sumptuous dinner to devise plans anew, and to felicitate themselves over the vast advantages they had cozened from the Government.* From that time out, their attention would be devoted entirely to land speculations. The maps would be industriously circulated, and adopting to their use the science of puffing, newspapers would teem with glowing representations to attract the attention of purchasers. The domain parcelled out by the company, would be described, on account of its facilities for transferring the produce of its fertility from ocean to ocean, as the golden belt of the continent. Speculators would rush to make investments of their capital and undeterred by the exorbitant advance from day to day in price, the poor man would hasten with the tribute of his hard won gains to cast a golden anchor in the future. After this course of things had been pursued long enough to swell the pockets of the company with a plethora of millions, we should have no stronger guarantee than what exists in the fallability of man that the work ever would be prosecuted. The whole result would be, that the company who had simply assumed for a time the United States ownership of the public lands (for none but the sixty mile strip would sell during this delusion) would good naturedly pocket The People's money till they fell off from very surfeit; and then, declaring themselves incapable, for want of means, of carrying out the objects of the grant, they would either sell out their privileges to others, or Government, impelled by the complaints and distresses of those who had been their victims, would have to complete the object after all herself.

But supposing their intentions to be sincere and their measures for the immediate commencement of the work earnest, there is yet another consideration against it outweighing all the rest. As soon as the grant was made, plans would be drawn out, and one of the directors despatched to London (as in the present case of Don José de Garay in relation to the ship canal through the Isthmus of Tehuantepec) to solicit the aid of British capitalists to sustain the work. Its importance would at once strike all, and perhaps attract the attention of the British government itself, and under the direction of her wily minister, funds might be placed in private hands for purchases of stock. At any rate, there can be but little doubt that the stock would all rapidly be taken up, and the result would be, that British stockholders, and perhaps the British government itself, would control the whole enterprise. It an any rate would afford her a pretext for interference on the score of protecting the property of her subjects. This principle has already been vociferously claimed for her by many of the creditors of our non-paying states, and the probability is, that in a matter of such vital import to her as this, it would ripen into a governmental assumption. In short, the necessary consequence of any private company must be, the introduction into our very bosom a foreign influence that will pierce our continent from shore to shore, and, in a double sense, divide our happy land.

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* It must be borne in mind that these observations though based on the provisions of Whitney's proposal, are merely suppositive against its theory, and are by no means meant as an imputation of his intentions, or a reflection on his character.

Lastly, it should be national, because its vast revenues would not only enable the Government, after paying off the cost, to relieve the country of the burden of almost every tax, whether impost or otherwise, but afford a surplus, which might be expended to advantage in the gradual increase of the navy, and in strengthening our seaboard and harbor defences to a state amounting to impregnability.

Having settled the feasibility of the work, both as to geographical facility and as to means of defraying the cost, the next thing to be considered is the *Time* necessary, for its completion; and though our arrangement brings this third in order, it is altogether first in importance.

The *time* allowed for its completion should be limited to *five years*, in which period it could as easily be accomplished by the energies of our government, as it could in twenty-five!

If 20,000 men* can complete 500 miles a year, there is no good reason why the result should be delayed to bestow the monopoly of the labor on 5000 who can only perform 125 miles in the same time.

Our country is as capable of a great effort as a mean one, and we have a right to expect one worthy of her genius and character. We repeat that TIME is the great object! A series of rapidly developing political events prove that the antagonistic principles of liberty and feudalism are fast approaching their final struggle. Alarmed at our astonishing progress, the monarchical governments of Europe are preparing to bring their centralized force to bear upon the genius of Republicanism, and when the collision takes place, we, as the grand promoter and defender of the latter, will have to sustain the whole brunt of the shock. Let us, therefore, arm ourselves against the crisis in time! Let us extend our communications across our country's length and breadth; secure the possession of the points that will enable us to protect the interests of our commerce in both oceans and the East, and assume a position worthy of the champion of the world's emancipation.

As many men should be employed upon the work as is possible to be obtained, even if the number run up to 20,000, or should go even beyond that. This would furnish employment to all the languishing labor of the great cities, and force, by the gradual progress of the road, an immense mechanical and laboring population into Oregon. This result would of itself peaceably settle our title against the world, and obviate entirely any necessity of further negotiation or force. These artizans and laborers having long been in the receipt of wages which they have been obliged to hoard, would, by the time they arrived in that distant territory, be possessed of a handsome competence, and taking advantage of the government bounty to settlers, become at once substantial landed proprietors, whose patriotism and obedience to the laws, would be securely guaranteed by their interest in the soil. Our government in exchange for its eastern substratum of suffering population, would find its broad and fertile western territories sprinkled with hamlets, and owning a class of intelligent and happy husbandmen, who would be the chief pride, boast, and dependence of the country.

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* This number is not offered as a portion of the rule for the accomplishment of the work within the specified time. If, however, a larger number of workmen than the above could be obtained, and paid, and the work completed in a still less time than five years, so much the better for every interest concerned.

These settlements would be formed, in great part, by the artizans and workers on the road, who having built temporary habitations for themselves and families in the neighborhood of their work, and foreseeing that for years to come they would reap a rich harvest for their agricultural labors in the wants of the immense army of pioneers who had gone before, and afterward in the markets of the Pacific, would yield to the love for a stationary home and the dignity of independent ownership, by settling permanently in every fertile portion of the road-side. The places of those who thus dropped out of the line would be supplied by the new emigrant, whom the increased price of labor in our Atlantic cities would have enticed to our shores, and thus the generous spirit of the enterprise would go on, redeeming man after man from the abasement of ill-requited servitude into the majesty and perfection of human nature—lord of the land, and with no master but his God.

The price of labor in our great cities would be progressive from the commencement of the work to its completion; and thus would be drawn from capitalists a portion of their hoards for its beneficial diffusion throughout all classes of the community. The rights of labor would be vindicated by the enforcement of a more equal division of its returns between it and its mercantile deputies, and a great step would be taken towards elevating it to its true importance in the social scale. The annual drain of population to the interior, and the new direction to be given to it south, would at the same time reduce landed property nearer to its true level, and modify that last remnant of feudalism, the landlord's power, into a bearable evil. These two influences combined, will do more at a stroke to elevate the condition of the masses, to check the fatal tendency to a division of interests and distinction of castes as in the old world; to divide the national domain among THE PEOPLE, and thus consummate the original scheme of the creation, than all the agrarian laws, social chimeras, and visionary legislation could in centuries!

Here we bring our inquiry to a close. We have, in the first place, made a satisfactory examination of our title to Oregon; in the second, proved the capabilities of that region for supporting a numerous population; in the third, examined the facilities which are offered for easy communication between it and the States, and in the fourth, we have established the perfect practicability of a rail-road to and through it, and following out the examination of this feature of our subject, we have glanced at the most obvious of the advantages that will be accomplished through its agency. In conclusion, we repeat that the earliest practicable time should be adopted to carry out the design. While France and Mexico meditate the segregation of the continent, and while England is despatching another squadron to the Arctic sea, we certainly are called upon to *inquire at least*, by an actual survey, whether we have not within the bosom of our own territories, superior facilities for accomplishing the same grand purpose which impels them. The immediate commencement of the work itself, would not conflict with any treaty stipulation, nor could it justly give umbrage to any other power, and in addition to affording a pledge to The People of the sincerity of the Government's intentions towards Oregon, the actual prosecution of the measure would defeat the British jugglers in their design of circumventing our rights by protracted negotiation.

Let them negotiate and let us work, and while they are mousing through the pages of Bynckershoeck and Puffendorff in cabinet caucauses, and solemn diplomatists are exchanging assurances of profound consideration, thousands of our hardy citizens will keep pouring though the gaps of the Rocky mountains, and at the conclusion of the grave dispute, be smoking their pipes in every fertile nook in Oregon.

The rail road is the GREAT NEGOTIATOR, which alone can settle our title more conclusively, than all the diplomatists in the world.

Aside from the considerations of national aggrandisement, this project is warranted as a measure of political economy which makes its appeal directly to the heart of every philanthropist. It would be a benefaction to the oppressed masses that would come with a peculiar grace from a parental government to its suffering children, and in addition to its being a measure for their gradual elevation and relief, it would also be an evidence, that among all the chartered privileges lavished time and again upon the rich, the government could find it in its heart to make at least one charter for the poor.

Lastly, if the magnetic telegraph should be added to this comprehensive scheme, where shall calculation look for the limits of its vast results? Basing our conclusions upon our wonderful advance in the present century, it is no extravagance to predict that in less than fifty years, we shall behold in our beloved country a government, holding the preponderance of power, owning a population of a hundred millions, with a central capital in the great valley of the Mississippi, commanding from its nucleus of power an electric communication over three millions of square miles, and diffusing its congregated science, art, philosophy, enterprise and intelligence; its enlarged spirit of liberty, philanthropy, peace and good will, to the uttermost ends of the earth in a fullness that will realize at last the fondest dreams of the millenium!

Arouse then, America, and obey the mandate which Destiny has imposed upon you for the redemption of a world! Send forth upon its mighty errand, the spirit of enfranchised man; nor let it pause until it bears down every barrier of unrighteous power; till it enlarges the boundaries of freedom to the last meridian, and spreads its generous influence from pole to pole!

PART II.

TRAVELS

ACROSS THE GREAT WESTERN PRAIRIES AND THROUGH

OREGON:

With a description of the line of route, and the distances between the
intermediate points from Missouri to the Pacific Ocean. Also,
a full description of the characteristics, capabilities and present
condition of the North Western Territory, prepared
from the Journal of a member of the recently
organised

OREGON LEGISLATURE.

CHAPTER I.

The Start—Arrival at the Rendezvous—The Features of the Gathering—The Rival Fat Gentlemen—The humors of an Evening in the Camp.

IT is not necessary to the object in view, that the writer of this journal should furnish the reason which induced him to turn his face towards the wilderness. Let it suffice that on the morning of the 17th May, 1843, I, (to drop the third person,) mounted my horse in Independence, Missouri, and set out for the general rendezvous. This was situated in a little spot about twenty miles distant, in a south-east direction. I did not start alone. A family of the name of Robbins, from the northern part of Pennsylvania, were my companions. This party consisted of a husband and wife, two chubby boys, one six and the other eight years of age, and a bouncing baby of eighteen months, or thereabouts.

After having examined for the twentieth time if all the necessaries required for the journey were properly stowed in the wagon, and after having for the last time, jerked at a trace, settled this and that portion of the harness, looked under the horses, passed his hand over the near one's flank, and walked completely around the whole concern, John Robbins mounted his seat, gave a sonorous ahem! in evidence of his complete satisfaction, and describing a preparatory circle with his lash, was about bringing it down on the backs of his team, when a little circumstance in the body of the wagon interrupted his purpose, and softened the threatening sweep of the gad into an oblique flourish, that spent its elegance in a faint snap near the ground.

He had turned his head for the *twenty-first* time to see that all was right in the canvass domicile behind, when he discerned that Mrs. Robbins was yielding to the weakness of her bosom at the separation of the last link that bound her to the associations of early youth, and to the ties of friends and home. The husband kissed away the tears that were tumbling over her full and rosy cheek, spoke a word of encouragement in her ear, and then, with a moistened eye himself, turned hastily to his place, brought the whip sharply down, set his features as rigid as a decemvir's, and rattled off at a pace that soon jolted off every vestige of sadness or depression, amid the cheers of a large circle of friends and well-wishers, who had gathered to see us off, and whose benizons floated after us upon the air, as if they were unwilling to resign this living evidence of their continual guardianship.

The morning was magnificent. The soft fresh breeze was both bracing and bland, and the sun poured down his brightness, with such superior glory, that his rays seemed to stream through our very hearts, and to change every doubt and dark foreboding into cheerful hope. As I gazed out upon that lovely landscape, and saw every blade and leaf quivering in gold, I ceased to wonder that the savage turned his face above to look for God.

Our course, as I remarked before, lay south west, along the Santa Fe trail. After we had proceeded on our way for about three hours, the fresh morning air served its challenge on our appetites, and we made a halt in answer to its summons. In compliment to the smooth green sward, the Robbins' family tumbled out of the wagon and spread their cloth upon it. Then followed the tin cups and tin plates, and then the edibles. Of the last, we made most speedy disposal. Mrs. Robbins had recovered from her momentary depression, and was now chatting away in high glee, only pausing occasionally, to tickle the baby in the neck, to knead its stomach with her fists, or to roll it over and over on the grass. The two boys had left the meal with their cheeks yet full, and were now scampering away after each other in a race over the fields, while one other member of the party, whom I must apologise for having overlooked, sat beside the hearty John Robins, looking like the impersonation of Gravity itself. This was a large white dog, named Jack, who I understood had long been a member of the family. He appeared to perfectly understand his social position, for though there was no evidence of improper levity in his character, or any indication of intemperate importunity in his manner, one might see by the decided cock of his head, and the equally decided interest he bestowed upon every movement of John Robbin's knife and fork, that he knew his rights to a hair. His calculations were not disappointed, and *his* lunch finishing the meal, I mounted my horse, the Robbins stowed themselves away under the canvass canopy, and off we jogged once more, to the great delight of Jack, who went gamboling away before us.

We had not proceeded far before we were met by a wagon returning from the rendezvous to Independence.

"Hallo, strangers! bound for the encampment!" shouted a voice from the box.

"Yes; are we far away!"

"About three mile. You'll find a nice party there. We're only goin' back to Independence for some articles we forgot, and then we're with you! Good day."

In about an hour we arrived at the rendezvous, or encampment, as our roadside friends had called it. We found there already over three hundred people preparing for one of the most arduous trips ever undertaken in modern times. About fifty wagons were arranged in a huge semi-circle, in the centre of which little groups were busying themselves in the usual occupations of life, while others were whiling away the hours in idle conversation. Here a smith was tinkering at a rivet, there a female bustled over her domestic pots and pans; in one quarter an artisan was engaged in mending a shaft or resetting a wagon top, while in another, a hardy huntsman was rubbing up his rifle. Numerous herds of cattle browsed about the plain, while the horses reaped their harvest of the generous herbage within the circle of their tether. All the concomitants of civilization were there, yet so intermixed with savage instances, as to startle the observer at the social hybrid. There was something in the unusual scene and its object, that challenged the reflection and led the mind off in its own despite, in search for the causes that induced it. Curiosity asked why a large body of human beings, possessed of a fair share of the comforts of life, should renounce, of their own accord, all the advantages of society, and submit to a voluntary banishment in a region of which they had only heard by rumor, and that was almost beyond the bounds of civil life? Why, with vast plains before them, offering the most bounteous fertility to the lightest summons of the husbandman; possessing a certain climate, and promising assured comfort; asking no purchase but those of the ploughshare and the spade, they chose rather a toilsome pilgrimage and the uncertain perils of an almost unknown route, to seek the same advantages in the extremity of the continent? It certainly was not from misanthropy, for the very manner of the enterprise denied it; they were not flying from the persecutions of intolerance and bigotry; neither were they the victims of ill balanced laws, but they were obeying that restless impulse of ambition which Liberty implants and fosters, and which displays itself in a passion for experiment and adventure. This spirit, which has imparted to us energies that have astonished the world, and still puzzle the monarchies of Europe, has spread its effects from the Atlantic even thus far into the wilderness; it is now directing the movements of this enterprise, and stamps it as the first sign of the enlargement of the boundaries of Freedom to the western ocean. Liberty and enterprise are inseperable qualities, and were it not for the obstacle of inadequate means of travel, no corner of our country would be left unpeopled.

We were received on our entrance with a shout of welcome, and as we drove in a dozen busy hands were instantly lent to assist us in arranging the disposal of our articles. Our wagon was drawn to a proper spot, our horses were watered and staked, Mrs. Robbins was introduced to Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Harris; the little Robbinses received the overtures of the juvenile Bakers and Browns, and Jack followed suit by making most decided advances to a handsome terrier bitch, who was doing the amiable in a series of cavortings that would have been most delightful for any lover of natural philosophy to see.

As this was also my first visit to the rendezvous, I was received in like manner, and some acquaintances whom I had made a few days before in the town of Independence, came forward to welcome me and to show me the ins and outs of the encampment.

"H'ar you, sir! H'ar you!" was the greeting which, accompanied by hearty and earnest grasps of the hand, met me on all sides, and in the course of half an hour I had become acquainted with two thirds of the whole party. Among others, I was introduced to a fat old gentleman in a round jacket and very short pair of corduroys, responding to the name of McFarley, and who, by the way, aspired to the command of the enterprise. Another fat old gentleman named Dumberton was also introduced to me, who was McFarley's rival for the chieftianship. He had the advantage of the latter, however, in a face of aldermanic redness, and likewise in a long-tailed snuff-colored coat.

This latter gentleman, immediately on taking my hand, informed me that he came from "East Tennessee, at a place high up on Big Pidgeon, near Kit Bullard's mill;" and then feeling convinced that it was quite unnecessary to take any further measure to secure my profound respect, threw his head on one side, and waited for his communication to produce its effect.

Dumberton, or the Captain, as he was called, had the advantage of McFarley in several other points. I have already mentioned the superior contrast of the snuff-coloured coat with the round jacket, and I might also have alluded to the substantial claims of a pantaloons of the same color in opposition to the meek pretensions of the corduroys; but the great superiority of the Captain laid chiefly in a profuse shock of stiff gray hair, which, being contrasted with the rich crimson of his countenance, and further set off by the white of his neck cloth, rendered his appearance imposing to a degree. Besides, his *home department* had a most superlative curve, while McFarley's, on the other hand, was a sudden projection, which looked as if he had just bolted the hump of a buffalo, and from its absolute abruptness, conveyed no idea of dignity at all. McFarley made up for these natural disadvantages, however, by industry, perseverance, and superior tact, which being opposed to the Captain's natural gifts, about balanced the materiel of the struggle.

The last of these remarkable gentlemen running one of the sleeves of his snuff-colored coat through my arm, fairly took me prisoner, and turned me off in the direction of a neighboring cluster of trees, for the purpose of securing my influence in his own favor, and in opposition to his opponent. It is impossible to describe McFarley's face, at this attempt of the other to make capital at his expense; suffice it, it outblushed his rival's, and his teeth were set in fierce determination. He was not long at a loss for an expedient to interrupt the Captain's design, for he bribed a boy to tell me "my horse had run a spike in his foot, and that Mr. Robbins wanted to see me at once." This was as great a relief to me, as it was a comfort to Mr. McFarley, for fat man the first had just commenced some disparaging reflections upon fat man the second, that I could not have listened to without compromising the neutrality of my position.

I had four men who had linked their interests with mine, and who had put themselves under my special direction. They were still at Independence, and I did not expect them till the afternoon of the following day, when they were to bring along our common team, cattle, wagons and "fixins." For want, therefore, of anything to do, I lent a hand to Robbins, in getting up his tent, and setting his things to rights. The remainder of the day was spent in making acquaintances, and projecting arrangements for future guidance, a precaution which I considered by no means unnecessary, now that I had discovered that the struggles of selfishness were likely in a greater or less degree, to agitate our little community. I should not omit to mention here, that I was also introduced this afternoon to Mr. Peter H. Burnet, who was subsequently made captain of the expedition.

After the evening had set in, I laid down in the wagon of an acquaintance, and overcome with fatigue, soon fell asleep. An hour could not have elapsed, however, before I started wide awake. While I lay endeavoring to recover my disturbed repose, I had a chance to hear how my neighbors were disposing of their time. In one direction the sound of a violin rasped the air; in another, a little farther off, the mellow warble of a flute stole softly on the night; while hard by my ear, a harmonious voice poured forth a measure of reproach to the

"*False-hearted Jane Louisa.*"

Unable to sleep, and desirous of taking a share in the enjoyment, I arose and went forth, and approaching the tent from which the last pathetic strain had issued, peeped into its centre. It was filled with a motley group, who appeared to have given themselves up to the last degree of merriment. In the rear, on a huge trunk, which was used as a table, sat two bottles, and a corpulent little jug, all of them, doubtless, contributions from different members of the company. On the right hand of this imposing platform, sat McFarley, and on the left, honest John Robbins, with dog Jack between his legs, who was looking, if possible, graver than ever. Behind, and mounted on a high seat, made by a trunk turned endwise, with a flask in his hand, and his hat cocked gaily into an extreme angle, sat the ruling spirit of the party. He was one of those peculiar geniuses whom Nature by the gift of a rich fund of humor and invincible gaiety marks for a practical philanthropist. In his own way, Jim Wayne was the source of more real pleasure and enjoyment, by his inimitable drolleries, during the long journey which followed, than any dozen other causes put together. His songs were sung by the whole camp; his stories were told over and over, for the edification and amusement of every sub-circle, and wherever he went, his presence of itself, appeared to possess galvanic power, which operated immediately in distending the muscles of every face.

"Gentlemen!" said Wayne, at the conclusion of his ditty, with an air of impressive solemnity, "it is my painful duty to communicate to you my apprehensions, that we have an individual among us of the most suspicious character; an individual, who, so far from entering into our proceedings with that degree of hilarity and good-fellowship which are the guarantees of honest intentions, has preserved a *dogged* silence, and has moreover given more than one indication that he is incapable of appreciating the sentiment of our enlightened proceedings; in short, gentlemen, he is a creature, as a man may say, without a soul. Gentlemen," continued the speaker, after the buzz of surprize and rapid scrutiny which swept the circle from man to man, upon this startling communication, was over, "gentlemen, the nature of our enterprize, the peculiarity of our situation, demands our utmost care, and I appeal to your intelligence, if an individual be found in this company, guilty of the demeanor I have charged him with, shall he not forthwith be summoned before this bar, arraigned for examination, and, if necessary, I will add, for punishment?"

"Yes, Yes, where is he! Who is he!" shouted a dozen voices, while some of the bronzed faces around frowned stern resentment.,"

Wayne turned, and after looking fixedly at John Robbins for several moments, as if it pained him to perform his duty, at length broke silence. "John Robbins, I command you to produce the body of an individual now in your possession, commonly known as dog Jack, that he may answer to the charge now about to be preferred against him."

At this conclusion, the whole company broke into a general peal of laughter, in which John Robbins, who was relieved from his temporary uneasiness, heartily joined.

"McFarley, arraign the culprit," cried Wayne, in a stern tone, which though apparently intended to check the levity of the group, only elicited another burst of merriment.

Jack was lifted on the box by his master, and McFarley, who acted as clerk of the court, made him face the Judge, setting him on his haunches, and holding up his four paws for the purpose of accomplishing a respectful attitude.

The President then addressed the offender at length, and with much dignity and force. Jack, while this was going on, never once altered the solemnity of his demeanor. The only departure from his usual stoicism, was an occasional glance which he now and then stole over his shoulder at McFarley, who was holding him. At length the President finished his address, and wound up by saying, that "as mercy was the divinest attribute of dogs as well as men, he would forgive him for this first offence, and allow him an opportunity to retrieve his character, by making him an honorary member of the association." Saying which, he baptized the animal on the end of the nose, with some of the contents of the flask in his hand, "to learn him," as he said, "to be a jolly good fellow."

Jack had stood everything quietly, until this, but no sooner did the alcoholic nauseate touch his nostrils, then he gave a sudden twist, followed by a spring which swept off the jug, carried McFarley to the ground, and nearly upset me, as he flashed past where I stood.

A long, loud, and continuous roar followed this conclusion of the prank, and under cover of it, I drew off to my quarters again.

This may be considered as a specimen of the evening enjoyments of the pilgrimage, (barring the drinking;) and I have been thus particular with the events of the first night, even at the expense of being charged with frivolity, that the reader may have a correct idea of all the variations and phases of the life that is led in the journey over the prairies. Many and many a time, even in the short period I have spent in this region, have I turned back to luxuriate in thought upon the delights of that adventure.

CHAPTER II.

Arrival of my Camp equipages—Outfit for emigrants—Grand Council at Elm Grove—Struggle of Ambition—Result of the Council—Regulations for future Government—Evening scene in the Prairies.

On the following day my men, wagons, and cattle arrived, and we were all kept pretty busy in making arrangements. McFarley and Dumberton both interrupted me frequently to secure my aid to their intrigues, but I resolutely put them off on the plea of pressing business of my own. A meeting was held in the latter part of the day, which resulted in appointing a committee to return to Independence, and make inquiries of Doctor Whitman, missionary, who had an establishment on the Wallawalla, respecting the practicabilities of the road, and an adjournment was made to the 20th, to Elm Grove, at a little distance off, for the purpose of making final arrangements for the regular government of the expedition. Meanwhile, new recruits kept pouring in, and at the appointed time, nearly all the emigrants were at the designated place.

As all the preparations which the wants of our journey demanded were now complete, I will here furnish a description of them for the benefit of the future emigrant, (for whom these notes are specially written,) adding to them such other directions as the experience of the actual journey has taught me are useful and necessary.

The proper outfit for emigrants is a matter of the first importance, as on it depends not only the ease, the comfort, but even in a great degree, the success of the journey.

The wagons for the trip should be two horse wagons with plain Yankee beds. The running gear should be made of the best materials, and it should also be of the most excellent workmanship. The wagons should have falling tongues, as they have a decided advantage over any other kind for this trip. You frequently are obliged to pass across hollows, having very steep, but short banks, where, it will be perceived, falling tongues are by far the most preferable. The wagon sheets, instead of being painted, should merely be doubled, as painting is apt to make them break, and the bows should be well made and strong. It is best to have sideboards, and to have the upper edge of the wagon body bevelled outwards, so that the water running from the sheet, may, when it strikes the body, be shed down the side. It is well also to have the bottom of the bed bevelled in the same way, to preclude any possibility of the approach of water to the inside. With your wagon thus prepared, you are as secure as though you were in a house. Tents and wagons sheets are best made of heavy brown cotton drilling, and the latter, if securely fastened, will, like the former, last well all the way. You should take along with you for repairs, a few extra iron bolts, lynch pins, skanes, paint bands for the axles, a cold chisel, a few pounds of assorted wrought nails, several papers of tacks, a lot of hoop iron, and a punch for making holes in it; a few chisels, a handsaw, a drawing-knife, a couple of axes, and indeed a general assortment of tools, not forgetting an auger, as they may all be needed on the way in repairing. All the light tools a man has, if they do not weigh too much, should be brought along. When you reach the mountains, if your wagons are not made of seasoned timber, the tires becomes loose; but this defect is very easily repaired with the assistance of the hoop iron you have brought along. You first take the nails out of the tire, and then drive the hoop iron between it and the fellows; the punch is then inserted to make holes in the sheet iron, and the nails following, and being driven home, all will be found as tight as ever. If your wagons are even ordinarily good this will not happen at all, and you will not perhaps have occasion to make a repair of any consequence during the whole trip. Any vehicle that can perform a journey from Kentucky to Missouri, will stand the trip well. In proof of this, there are many wagons now in use in Oregon which were brought through last year, though they were in quite ordinary condition when they started from the States. Beware of heavy vehicles; they break down your teams, and light ones answer every purpose to much better advantage. The latter will carry every thing you want, and as there are no obstacles on the road, in the way of logs or stumps, or even rocks, until you get more than half way, (when your load is very much reduced,) there is but little danger of accident. You meet with no stumps on the road, until you came to the Burnt river, and there they are very few, and you encounter no rocks until you get among the tail of the Black hills, and these are not formidable in their character, and only last for a short distance. From this point you meet with no more obstructions worth speaking of, until you reach the Great Soda Spring on Bear river, which is situated in the intricacies of the mountain passes. Experience has proved, however, that the difficulties there, are readily overcome. If an individual should have several wagons, some good and some indifferent, he might start with all; the latter would go to the mountains, where the loads being reduced one half, their burdens might be transferred entirely to the strong ones, and the former could roll through empty. It is not necessary to bring along extra axle trees, as you seldom break one, though you should take with you a few pieces of well seasoned hickory, to be used for wedges and for other little useful purposes.

Teams.—The best teams for this trip are ox-teams. The oxen should be from three to five years old, well set and compactly built, though they should not be too heavy, as their feet will not bear the wear and tear and hardships of the route as well as those of lighter animals. This, though well to be observed as a general rule, is not imperative upon the emigrant, as we had with us in this trip several very large oxen, of seven and eight years of age, which endured the continued labor of the task very well, though not so well as the younger and lighter ones. Young cows make just as good teams as any other, as previous to your reaching Fort Hall on the west of the mountains, it is merely the continuance of the travel, and not the hardship of the draught that challenges the physical powers of your cattle. To make cows serve all the purposes of oxen, therefore, you have only to hitch a double number and you will go along as comfortably and as easily, as with the best oxen in the world; besides, cows in addition to furnishing you with a nutritious beverage, night and morning, stand the trip better than the male members of their species. Either of the above, however, are better for the emigrant's purposes than mules. They are, moreover, more easily managed—they are not so subject to be lost or broken down on the way—they cost less at the start, and they are worth four times as much when you arrive at the end of your journey.

Those who come to this country with oxen, will be in love with them long before they get here. Their patient, gentle, persevering good will, are each a claim upon your warm attachment. They will plunge through the heaviest mud, dive into thickets, climb mountains, however great their previous labor, without the slightest refusal, and in their frugal habits are content with the reward of almost any provender—willows alone satisfying their humble appetites for days together.

I would most strongly urge emigrants to bring all the cattle they can procure; and horses among the rest, as with proper care, the latter stand the journey as well as mules. If a person setting out would invest five hundred dollars in young heifers, and drive them here, they would be worth five thousand dollars to him on his arrival; and by pursuing the enterprise in the way of stock raising, if he did not wish to sell, he could in a short time make a fortune. Milch cows are exceedingly useful on the road, as they give an abundance of milk all the way, with the exception of the latter part of it, where, in consequence of the frequent interruptions of the previously rich herbage, the supply somewhat decreases. This edible is of great value to the traveller, as when thickened, it effects a great saving of flour, and its rich and delicious qualities afford a fine and nourishing food for your children. Its other advantage is, that the giver of it gathers it from the pastures from day to day, and relieves you of any trouble of carriage, by bearing it herself.

We found that yearlings, nay even sucking calves, stood the trip well, but the objection to the latter is, that they get all the milk of the mother.

Provisions.—As this is the most important branch of preparation, it is necessary that we should bestow a careful attention upon it. Every one thinks he must eat, and so settled in the notion, that it would amount to little short of a separation of *soul and body to be persuaded to the contrary.*

One hundred and fifty pounds of flour, and fifty pounds of bacon, must be allowed to each person, and this must be taken as a fundamental rule—a *protective provision* as the lawyers say, which must not be overlooked or departed from. Besides the above, as much rice, corn meal, parched corn meal, and raw corn, peas, dried fruit, sugar, tea, coffee, and such necessary articles of food, as you can find room for, should by all means be brought along. Flour and parched corn meal will keep sweet the whole way, but corn meal only lasts to the mountains. The parched meal is most excellent in making soup—a few beef cattle or fat calves should be taken to kill on the way, as before you fall in with the buffalo, you will need fresh meat. Peas will be found to be very useful also, and your dried fruits by being brought out occasionally, will supply with their delicacy and nourishing qualities, many of the deprivations of absence from a settled home.

The loading, in short, should consist mostly of provisions. Emigrants should not burden themselves with much furniture or many beds. It is folly to lug these articles two thousand miles over mountains and rivers, through a mere prejudice of habit and notion. A few light trunks should be brought to pack clothes in, as they will be found to be better than any other article for the same purpose; boxes are too heavy in an expedition where every pound tells in every hour of draught.

All heavy articles, therefore, should be left behind, with the exception of the most necessary cooking utensils, and these should be of tin, or of the lightest materials. If you are heavily loaded, let the quantity of sugar and coffee be small, as milk is preferable as a beverage for health, and, because, as I said before, it travels for itself. You should provide yourself with a water keg, and you should likewise have a tin can made after the fashion of a powder cannister, to hold your milk. A few tin cups, (abjure all crockery,) tin plates, tin saucers, a butcher's knife, a shovel, and a pair of pot-hooks, will go very far toward completing your culinary arrangements, and a small grindstone joined to their company, to keep them in edge, will also lend a valuable assistance to this department. There are many other articles apparently trifling in their nature, which must not be overlooked, and these the good sense of the emigrant must suggest for himself. Such are cord, bits of linen, leather, &c. Rifles, fowling pieces, pistols, powder, shot, ball, lump lead, and all the accompanying articles of destructive warfare upon game, are, I hardly need say, of the first importance. Man's inheritance of destructiveness must be borne with him to this region as well as to every other. The double inducement to carry articles of inherent usefulness, is their wonderful advance in value—thus, a rifle worth *twenty dollars* in the States, enhances to the worth of *fifty dollars* in Oregon, and fowling pieces increase in price in proportion.

The clothing you take, should be of the same description used in the middle states, and enough should be laid in to last a year. Care should be taken that, amongst the rest of your wardrobe, a half a dozen or a dozen pair of strong shoes should not be forgotten.

These directions will suffice to give the emigrant a notion of his wants, and of the means he will require to procure them. What I have omitted, will be supplied hereafter in the course of this narrative, and the remainder left unmentioned will be suggested as I said before by the intelligence of the emigrant himself.

On the 20th of May we moved to Big Spring in obedience to the previous resolution, and found upon our arrival there, a large accession to our party. Our number was now found to amount to near five hundred souls, men, women and children, of which 283 were men able to bear arms.

Here was an enterprise of moment indeed! The greatest confidence appeared to prevail throughout the whole party, and self-reliance and determination were stamped on every countenance. Every now and then, as some rough looking backwoodsman would swagger past, armed to the teeth with pistol and bowie knife, or squads of his companions skirr on horseback over the surrounding plains, rifle in hand, and blade in belt, an apprehension would start upon the mind of the difficulties to be found in harmonizing the incongruous elements, and of subduing them into one reasonable, order loving mass.

With the gathering of the grand council came the climacteric of Mc Farley's and Dumberton's struggle.

After the meeting had assembled, and the temporary officers of it had been appointed, came the proposals of organization. The ripening of the proceedings to this stage showed that the fat gentlemen were not the only aspirants emulous of supreme distinction. The strange assemblage was gathered from various sections of the country; they were agitated with various views, and naturally separated into various cliques. Most of them had their favorite plans already cut and dried, and their nominees were all ready to wear the chieftain's mantle. A stormy session was the consequence, and it was evident that the question of commandership would not be decided this day. In the middle of the uproar of the first hour, Dumberton, who had given his hair an extra intellectual rush from the front, and arranged the snuff colored garments in a style of superlative finish, managed to obtain the ear of the assemblage. After having waved the crowd into profound silence, he commenced a eulogium upon the character of Washington: made patriotic allusions to the revolution and the late war, touched on the battle of New Orleans, apostrophised the American eagle, and then wound up his introduction with a very meaning sentiment levelled with great force and earnestness at the "iron arm of despotism." Imagining that he had fairly taken captive the admiration of his audience, Mr. Dumberton, of Big Pigeon, came to the point of his address, and gravely proposed that the emigration should adopt the *criminal* laws of Missouri and Tennessee for its future government.

No sooner had the speaker delivered himself of his proposition, than Mc Farley, who had been chafing like a stung bull for the last half hour, sprang up, and remarked that since the gentleman from Big Pigeon had found out we had robbers and thieves among us, he, (Mc Farley) would move that a penitentiary be engaged to travel in company if his proposal should pass.

Mr. Dumberton, replied with a savage irony intended to annihilate his opponent, that "the gentleman who had suggested the last resolution, would doubtless find himself *taken in* if it did." Mr. Mc Farley denounced Mr. Dumberton as a demagogue, whereupon Mr. Dumberton appealed to the Genius of Liberty for the purity of his intentions in a most beautiful apostrophe.

But the Genius of Liberty not responding to the call of the gentleman from Big Pigeon in time, some other fiery spirits interfered, and shifted the dispute to new questions and characters, extinguishing in a moment the hopes and pretensions of the Big Pigeon and its opposing faction.

After some deliberation of a more quiet and sensible character, the council resulted in adopting a set of resolutions as its guiding principles, and postponing for the time the election of a commander and his aids, leaving the chief direction temporarily in the hands of Captain John Grant, who was employed as our pilot for the route. An adjournment then took place with the understanding that we should start finally and altogether on the morning of the 22d, and halt at the Kansas river, for a final organization in the election of the commander and other officers.

As the resolutions adopted are interesting in a philosophical point of view, presenting as they do the spectacle of a free body of people, voluntarily assuming regulations and restrictions for the common benefit and safety of all—and as they are calculated to be of service to future companies of emigrants, I will here insert them.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE OREGON EMIGRATING SOCIETY.

Resolved—Whereas we deem it necessary for the government of all societies, either civil or military, to adopt certain rules and regulations for their government, for the purpose of keeping good order, and promoting civil and military discipline; therefore, in order to insure union and safety, we adopt the following rules and regulations for the government of said company.

Rule 1st.—Every male person of the age of sixteen or upwards shall be considered a legal voter in all the affairs regulating the company.

Rule 2d.—There shall be nine men elected by a majority of the company, who shall form a council, whose duty it shall be to settle all disputes arising between individuals, and to try, and pass sentence on all persons for any act of which they may be guilty, which is subversive of good order and military discipline. They shall take especial cognizance of sentinels and members of the guard who may be guilty of neglect of duty, or of sleeping on their posts. Such persons shall be tried and sentence passed on them at discretion of council. A majority of two thirds of the council shall decide all questions that may come before them, subject to the approval or disapproval of the captain. If the captain disapprove of the decision of the council, he shall state to them his reasons, when they shall again pass upon the question, and if the decision is again made by the same majority, it shall be final.

Rule 3d.—There shall be a Captain elected, who shall have supreme military command of the company. It shall be the duty of the Captain to maintain good order and strict discipline, and as far as practicable, to enforce all rules and regulations adopted by the company. Any man who shall be guilty of disobeying orders, shall be tried and sentenced at the discretion of the council, which may extend to expulsion from the company. The Captain shall appoint the requisite number of duty sergeant, one of whom shall take charge of every guard, and who shall hold their offices at the pleasure of the Captain.

Rule 4th.—These shall be an orderly sergeant elected by the company, whose duty it shall be to keep a regular roll, arranged in alphabetical order, of every person subject to guard duty in the company, and shall make out his guard details by commencing at the top of the roll and proceeding to the bottom—thus giving every man an equal turn of guard duty. He shall also give the member of every guard notice when he is detailed for duty. He shall also parade every guard, call the roll and inspect the time of mounting. He shall also visit the guard at least once every night, and see that they are doing strict military duty, and may at any time give them the necessary instructions respecting their duty, and shall regularly make report to the Captain every morning, and be considered second in command.

Rule 5th.—The Captain, orderly sergeant, and members of the council, shall hold their offices at the pleasure of the company, and it shall be the duty of the council, upon the application of one third or more of the company, to order a new election, for either captain, orderly sergeant, or new member, or members of the council; or for all or any of them as the case may be.

Rule 6th.—The election for officers shall not take place until the company meet at Kansas river.

Rule 7th.—No family shall be allowed to take more than three loose cattle to every male member of the age of sixteen or upwards."

I hardly need state that many of these remarkable regulations remained as from their very nature they needs must, a dead letter. The convocation, however, had performed the chief business they were called to accomplish, and each man at the adjournment, sought his quarters with the conviction that he had taken part in a proceeding but little short in points of dignity and grand importance to the declaration of independance itself.

It was grey dusk when the council of Elm Grove broke up, and the ceremony of supper to which I hastened with a right good will, led me into the night. When my meal was over, I paid a visit to the tent of John Robbins, and after passing an hour with his family, strolled out to take a view of the camp. Elm Grove is a spot situated in the plain of a vast prairié, and receives its distinction and its name from two beautiful elm trees that stand as solitary (!) land marks upon its surface. Though this was the first time I recognised the term of "grove" as applicable to but two trees, I felt willing from their extreme beauty to allow them any prerogative of definition they pleased to arrogate. The night, the scene, the stars, the air, were beautiful. The moon shed her silvery beams upon the white sheets of sixty wagons, whose arrangement marked the parallelogramic boundaries of our camp. A thousand head of cattle grazed upon the surrounding plain, fifty camp fires sent up their enlivening beams of comfort and good cheer, the cheerful sentinel whistled a lively air as he swaggered up and down his post, the sound of the violin, the flute, the flageolet, the accordion; the rich notes of manly voices, some in love ditties and some in patriotic strains, conjoined to lend romance and excitement to the scene. All was mirth, joy, and contentment, "save where some infant raised its fretful pipe," or where some party of infatuated gamesters were cursing the treacheries of a game of chance.

I passed by the tent of the Big Pigeon, and overheard a fierce discussion on the new application of the veto power, as bestowed upon the Captain of the Company, and heard Dumberton denounce it, as "an absurd innovation upon a conservative system, and a most gross violation of a cardinal principle of political jurisprudence." Mr. Dumberton owned a circle of most ardent admirers, who if they did not exactly understand the meaning of all he said, (a matter that would have puzzled the gentlemen from the vicinity of Kit Bullard's mill himself,) were most devotedly resolved to firmly believe every thing that fell from his lips, to be sound doctrine. There are in all societies classes of people, who would rather adhere and sacrifice to principles they do not understand, than abide by propositions, however good, that they do. There is something to hope from a mystery which confounds the senses, but a proposition that any one can understand is altogether beneath the notice of an aspiring imagination.

CHAPTER III.

The start—Crossing of the Walpalusia—Visit of Pottawattomies—Crossing of the Kanzas—Sinking of the raft—New recruits—Catholic Missionaries—Election of officers—Crossing of Big Sandy—an Indian visit—Crossing of the Blue—a thunder storm—Novel race after blankets—Meeting with the Osages and Kanzas—Green and the Caw—More rain—New organization and new election—Friends in the desert—The dead Pawnee—Buffalo—chase of an antelope.

Early on the morning of the 22d, the signal was given for preparation, and the camp was soon in one universal babel of excitement. Our arrangements, however, were not all completed until after midday, when the teams being all hitched, the cattle herded, the tents struck and stowed, and the wagons all ready to take their places in the line, assigned them for the route, the bugle, (blown by Jim Wayne, who galloped up and down, as an aide-de-camp to the temporary commander,) sounded its last signal of departure, and away we streamed to the distance of two miles over the undulating billows of the prairie, at last fairly embarked for the region of our future home. The country we passed through this day, was one succession of gently undulating swells, clothed with a verdure that evinced the rich fertility of the soil. After a journey unmarked by any incidents, except the delays arising out of the confusion of a first start, we encamped about an hour before sunset; having accomplished but a distance of three miles. On the following day we succeeded no better, only making in all, four miles. Our cattle gave us a great deal of trouble, as they had heretofore been allowed unrestricted liberty in wandering over the plains, and had not yet been broken into the regularity of an onward march. We encamped this evening on the banks of a beautiful little river, called the Wapalusia, a tributary of the Kanzas. It was but about twenty yards wide; its clear pellucid waters rolled over a pebbly bottom, and its abrupt banks were studded with the cotton wood, and ash, which on some portions of its course, intermingled their foliage across the stream.

As soon as we had fallen into our regular disposition for the night, and staked our horses, several of us turned out with nets and fishing-tackle, to sweep and to tickle the stream. But though we were successful in furnishing ourselves with some amusement, we were not so successful in the object of our endeavors—being only fortunate enough to secure a few trout, most of which fell to the share of the female department of the expedition.

On the morning of the 24th, we made preparations for crossing the stream, but in consequence of the steepness of its banks, were obliged to let our wagons down with ropes, and to draw them up in the same way. This was the first proof we had, of the advantages possessed by the vehicles with falling tongues, for they were easily lifted out of danger, while the others ran against the bottom in their descent, and one of them was snapped off. Our cattle plunged into the water without any hesitation, and all crossing without difficulty, we were in a short time, regularly following our onward movement. We might have avoided all the delay and trouble of this crossing, if we had searched a hundred yards farther up the stream, for there we would have found a practicable ford.

While crossing, we received a flying visit from three Potawattomie Indians. They were out on a hunt, and were mounted on superb horses arrayed in saddles, bridles and martingales. They stopped but a moment to gaze at us, and then scoured away at top speed towards the south.

On the forenoon of the 26th, we arrived at the borders of the Kanzas river, and finding it too high to ford, were obliged to come to a dead halt, and to devote the rest of the day to devising means to overcome the unexpected obstruction. Here, however, the unfortunate differences which arise out of the vanity of opinion, prevented the adoption of any practical measure, and the debate went over till the next day. On the following morning, 27th, a committee of three, received the delegated opinions of the whole, and were directed to make arrangements for crossinggthe river. Content with the compromise, the rest of us who chose, went to work at fishing for a fresh dinner.

The committee applied to a Frenchman, named Pappa, who had a log house and a little spot of ground in cultivation at the crossing, and endeavored to hire his platform. But the old fellow insisting on the most unreasonable terms, no arrangement could be made with him, so the convention between Pappa and the plenipotentiaries of our republic, was broken abruptly off, and we were obliged to commence the construction of a raft upon our own account. This proceeding brought the old curmudgeon to his senses, but not being able to regain the committee, he threw himself open to the impatience of a section of our party, who availed themselves of his reduced offers, and commenced crossing before the main body. This gave great dissatisfaction to the rest of the company, and inflamed the elements of discord anew in the camp. On the 28th, Pappa's platform while crossing with an inordinate load, suddenly sunk, and several women and children came very near being drowned; but some dozen or two of sturdy arms soon brought them to the shore, and the mishap was confined to the loss of some property alone. Pappa's platform was then suffered to float down the stream, and our own being now finished, we all resolved to cross over afterwards upon a common footing. On the following morning, 29th, the general crossing commenced, but in consequence of the great number of our cattle, it was not finished until the 31st. The want of organization was the great object which retarded our movements. While we were lingering on the banks of this river, a number of wagons from the Platte country, came in to join the expedition. On the 30th, two Catholic missionaries arrived at the ford. They were pilgrims through the wilderness on a mission of faith to the Flathead Indians. We treated them with every observance of respect, and cheerfully lent them the assistance of our raft.

The Kansas river is at this point about a quarter of a mile wide, with sandy banks and bottom, and its waters are muddy like those of the Missouri. The crossing, as I said before, was completed on the 31st, and the whole party were encamped safely on the other side, at Black Warrior Creek.

Having now tested to our heart's content the evils of too large an exercise of the "largest liberty," the desire became universal for the election of an absolute commander of arrangements. Accordingly, a general meeting was held, and the organization was consummated by the election of Peter H. Burnett, as commander in chief, and Mr. Nesmith as orderly sergeant.

This election took place on the 1st June, and on the 2d we left our quarters for an onward movement. Right glad were we to get away, for our situation had been very uncomfortable during the whole time from the 26th, and our stock kept constantly sticking in the mud on the banks of this miserable creek. On the 3d, we travelled a distance of fifteen miles, (more than all accomplished during the previous eleven days,) and on the following day seventeen miles more through a section of the most beautiful prairie lands that had as yet ever met my eye. This day's journey took us across a large creek with high banks, called "Big Sandy," but in consequence of the thorough organization which had already been effected by our commander, and his prompt measures, it offered but little obstacle to our progress. We encamped at close of day, some miles beyond its western bank. While stationing our wagons in their quadrangular order, and pitching our tents, we received a visit from some Kansas chiefs, much to the terror of the women and children, who gazed with any feelings but those of admiration upon the grim visages of the warriors, made more grim by the bars of black and red paint drawn across them; or who looked with any thing but a serene sensation upon the threatening tomahawks and scalping knives which grinned beneath their girdles. These lords of the soil, however, were by no means disposed to be savage with us, and after a temporary stay, during which they received some tobacco and a few loads of powder and shot, they retired in an opposite direction from whence they came. On the fifth, we crossed the east fork of the Blue, a large creek which is a tributary to the Kansas, accomplishing this day over twenty miles. On the afternoon of the sixth, we arrived at the west fork of the Blue, fifteen miles west of the branch we passed the day before. We found it to be a small river about fifty yards wide, and contrary to our expectations, it was fordable, a rain during the previous night having excited our apprehensions that we should find it swelled into a torrent. First driving in our cattle, we next propped up our wagon beds with large blocks of wood, and thus conveyed them over safe and sound. The prairie on the other side was level and dry, and we encamped quite content with the day's performance.

Alas, our satisfaction was bound to be of short endurance; for about ten o'clock at night, the sky was covered with a darkness so dense as to fairly ache the sight that peered upward in the vain attempt to pierce it. A close heaviness oppressed the air that portended the coming of a thunder storm. A signal was given to us by the guards, and every one was up in a moment to make all secure about his tent or wagon as the case might be; but while yet bustling about, the inky pall was rent in twain, and a tremendous burst exploded over our very heads, that absolutely struck some of us to the ground. A sullen moan followed, increasing gradually into a wild shriek of the elements, as if every demon of the night was lending to the moment his croak of horror. At length the howling tempest struck us, and before we had fairly recovered from our first stupefaction, several tents were blown down, and two or three which had been carelessly staked were lifted in the air, and passed off on the breath of the hurricane like puffs of down. I stood near the scene of one of these mishaps, and could not restrain from a burst of laughter when, as the canvass departed, a husband and wife jumped up in their scanty night clothes, and on their hands and knees chased the fugitive sheets which curled over and over provokingly before them. My merriment startled the female pursuer, who on discovering me and my roaring companions made a rapid retreat and crept under the mattrass.

These were not the worst of the visitations of the storm, for the wind was accompanied by a tremendous deluge of rain that flooded the whole surface of the prairie, and the entire platform of our encampment; and it is not too much to say that there was scarcely a dry inch of skin in it. Our condition during the night was, consequently, very uncomfortable, and it was not until a pretty advanced hour in the morning, that we had recovered from our condition. This learnt us a new lesson of precaution, which was to dig a trench around the tents on pitching them, so as to lead the water off.

On this day (6th,) we were encountered on our march by a party of Osage and Kanzas, or Caw Indians, in all the horrid accoutrements of war. They numbered about ninety in all, and had evidently studied every means of making themselves disgusting and terrible. They all rode ponies, and had their heads closely shaven, with the exception of the stiff lock in the centre, which their politeness to their foes reserves for the scalping knife. The advantages of this international regulation of courtesy is obvious, for when a warrior has conquered a foe, instead of being obliged to rip off his scalp in a tedious operation with his teeth, he relieves him of it gracefully and easily by the assistance of his top knot. He is thus allowed to pay attention to a greater number of foes, and the natural increase which thus takes place in deeds of arms, encourages the martial spirit of both nations. The exploit of this party had not been highly creditable to their character, for they had waged destruction only on one brave Pawnee, whom they had surprised and run down like a wild beast, but who, however, had wounded two of his pursuers badly before he was overcome. The miserable devils had his scalp with them, and they had also secured portions of his cheeks and nose, which were distributed among the chiefs. They had ripped the former from the head of their victim with considerable skill, the ears being attached to it, and upon inspection, I perceived they still contained their unfortunate owner's wampum ornaments.

The Kanzas and Osages are the most miserable and filthy Indians we saw east of the Rocky mountains, and they annoyed us excessively whenever we fell in with them, through their mendicant propensities. We gave to this party a calf and some bread, as they importuned us with great earnestness, stating, to strengthen their application, that they had not tasted food for three days. One of the chiefs with an ear of the slaughtered Pawnee swinging around his neck, approached Green, a strapping Missourian, who stood leaning on his rifle, and gazing at the crew with a stern expression of mingled scorn and abhorrence. The savage importuned him by a sign for some powder and ball.

"Some powder and ball you want, eh!" said Green, slowly rising from his slightly incumbent position. "Some powder and ball, eh? Well, I can spare you jist one load out o' here!" saying which he significantly touched the muzzle of his gun with his finger, and then slowly raised it to his sight. The savage hesitated for a moment, uncertain of the white man's purpose, but perceiving that the weapon gradually travelled to a level, he stepped back and opened his hands, as if to explain the friendliness of his purpose.

But the hooshier's blood was up, and advancing as the Caw retired, he raised the but of his rifle in a threatening manner, exclaiming in an imperative tone: "Out o' my sight, you d—d nigger, or by—, I'll spile your scalpin for ever." The Indian slouched sullenly away, and Green, when tired of chasing him with his eye, turned off in another direction growling: "I'd like to spend a few private moments with that fellow in the open prairie."

In addition to their other bad qualities, these Indians have the reputation of being the most arrant thieves in the world. They satisfied us as to their rascally propensities on taking their departure, by the theft of a couple of horses, which disappeared from the time of their leaving us. One of the animals was the property of the indignant Missourian.

On the 7th, we removed our camp to the distance of half a mile further on, and resolved to pause the whole day in order to dry our goods and repair the injuries done by the previous storm. The night, however, ended most of our labor, for we were visited by another severe shower, which again flooded the whole camp. On the following morning we started off in the rain, which was falling in torrents, with the determination of finding ground high enough to prevent our camp from being continually swamped. After a weary and miserable peregrination of five miles, we came to a grove of young elms on a slightly elevated knoll, which secured us just the advantages we sought. The rain still kept coming down, but after our tents were pitched, we were able to defy it.

Several of us had caught severe colds by the drenching we had received, and among the rest, Mr. Burnet was badly attacked with so serious an indisposition, that he was forced to resign the command.

On the 9th the clouds dispersed, the sun broke through them with its enlivening rays, and we started off at an early hour to reach a grove about five miles distant, where we would have superior facilities in wood and water, for drying our clothes and recruiting ourselves. We reached it about twelve o'clock, and making a halt, in less than half an hour, forty or fifty huge fires were roaring and crackling in the plain. After we had thoroughly dried our garments and recovered our things from their previous confusion, we turned our attention to supplying the vacancy in the office of commander. A council was held which resulted in a separation of the two divisions, one under the command of Captain Jesse Applegate, and the other, after adopting a new organization, elected William Martin commander. The latter division was the largest of the two, having in it seventy-two wagons and one hundred and seventy-five men.

On the 10th, we started out under this new arrangement with fine weather, and a beautifully undulating landscape beckoned us on into its fertile depths. I rode on amongst the advanced guard on the look out for buffalo, and yielding to a spirit of gaiety and spirit in my horse, I suffered him to carry me far beyond the rest. Halting at length to turn back to my companions, I paused to take a momentary scrutiny of the horizon, when I suddenly perceived in the extreme of the south west, two or three little dots just waving on its edge. "Buffalo, Buffalo!" shouted I, waving my hand to those behind, and dashing off with a dozen clattering fast behind me in the direction of the objects. We were not long left in doubt as to the nature of the new comers, for we were approaching each other, and in a few minutes were shaking hands with the mounted outposts of a trading caravan from Fort Larimie, on its way to Independence with furs and peltries. When the wagons came up, they were cheered by our people, and welcomed with the same enthusiasm that hails a sail upon the ocean after a joyless solitude of months. It being noon, and a brook running hard by, we insisted on a pause, and we accordingly spent a couple of happy hours together, after which we separated, and both moved on again. Surely there is something good in human nature! Such scenes as this go very far to destroy the injustice of the assertion, that man's heart is continually evil, and that he naturally inclines to it as the sparks fly upward. The converse is the rule.

Upon our start, I resumed my position as a scout, and falling in with Green, the sturdy Missourian, we kept company together. As we led the advance with Capt. Gant, our attention was attracted simultaneously by a flock of large birds hovering over some object on the plain, and occasionally stooping down towards it. For the purpose of ascertaining the cause of their operations, we rode toward them, and on approaching the scene, found them to be a lot of buzzards feeding upon the dead body of a man. Upon a close inspection, we discovered it to be the body of an Indian, whose dissevered head, badly scalped, lay within a few feet of his body. It was evidently the victim of the war party of the Kanzas and Osages whom we had encountered a few days before.

"I'd give another horse to have a turn with one of the niggers who helped in this!" said Green, as we turned away.

The road was smooth all the way to-day; nothing within eye-shot, but a gently undulating landscape, relieved occasionally by little colonies of saplings, and covered with a generous crop of grass, in which our cattle found an elysium of provender. We had another fall of rain on the evening of the 11th, but it was slight, and so far from doing damage, it scarcely occasioned inconvenience.

On the 12th, as we were jogging along at a comfortable pace, the whole camp was suddenly thrown into a fever of excitement by shouts of: "Buffalo! Buffalo!" At the welcome and long wished for cry, several of us who were mounted, galloped ahead to take a share in the sport. On reaching the advance, our erroneous impressions were corrected by the information that the sport was over, and that Capt. Gent and others had just killed a large buffalo, and were waiting until the caravan arrived at the scene of the exploit, to take charge of the carcase. It turned out to be a veteran bull who had been discovered by the hunters grazing by himself about two miles distant on the lead. The horsemen immediately run upon him, discharging their rifles to stop his career, and when they had sufficiently shortened their distance, drew on him their large horse pistols. This proved effectual, and the old soldier bit the dust a victim to seven balls. He appeared worn with grief at his desolate condition, and his flesh, toughened with age, proved hardly an enviable refreshment. The old fellow had probably been left here in the spring when sick, by the other buffaloes. These animals come down to Blue river in great numbers to spend the winter among the rushes, which are abundant in the bottoms near the stream, but leave in the spring.

On the 14th, we entered and passed over a broad district of prairie land, equal for farming purposes to any soil in the world; but it was all solitary wild prairie, and scarcely relieved by the slightest rise or fall.

For the last three or four days, we had every now and then seen an antelope, but in consequence of the extreme shyness of the animals none of us had been able to get a shot at one. To-day, however, Jim Wayne, who to his character of humorist and musician, added the qualities of a capital huntsman and woodsman, brought in a young doe slung across the saddle of his horse, singing—

"Merrily the wild stag bounds!"

with his gun crossed in the hollow of his arm, and his hat cocked more gaily than ever.

"Hollo, Jim!" shouted McFarley, who had just came up, "so you've had some luck, I see!"

"Yes, and I have discovered a new method of making cheap bread."

"Say it, my hearty!"

"By finding *doe* to my hand in the prairie."

"Faith an you'll find it well *kneaded* too, (needed,) or my stomach's no judge," said the politician with a moistening mouth.

"That last execrable pun entitles you to one of her rump stakes, and I'll see that it is bestowed upon you if it should be the last official act of my life," replied the humorist with dignity as he moved on.

On the following day, 16th, I had agreed with Jim that he and I should take a skirr together, to see if we could not fall upon another animal of the same species; but an incident occurred in the course of the morning that diverted our intentions. A shout from the rear turned our attention in that direction, and splitting away at top speed, we saw a splendid buck antelope coming towards us, followed by some of our dogs in full chase. He had been hiding in a little thicket on our trail, and just as the last wagon passed, some loitering hound had caught the scent and started him up. Instead of striking away from us across the prairie, the frightened animal came direct along the line, and ran down its whole length, extending over two miles, at a distance of not more than two hundred yards. It was a most beautiful, and at the same time a most exciting sight. Away he flew like the wind, at every moment the pack scouring in his rear, receiving new accessions as the chase advanced; and at the distance of every few hundred yards a rifle would send its ineffectual messenger to arrest his course. At length, however, a large hound from one of the foremost wagons seeing the squad approaching, ran down to meet them. The affrighted buck, terrified out of his wits, though plainly headed off, did not sheer an inch from his course, and the dog meeting him with a spring, seized him by the throat and tumbled him to the ground. The animal contrived to raise and shake him off before the rest of the pack arrived, but a rifle ball caught him in the shoulder, and he yielded to his fate by dropping first on his knees and then rolling over on his side upon the plain.

The antelope is a most beautiful animal, and perhaps there is no other creature in creation capable of an equal degree of speed. He is tall, graceful, and stately; shaped something like a deer, clothed in a hide of the same color; and like deer, the bucks have branching horns, though blacker and smaller in their size.

I had a conversation over the body of the animal, with an old back-woodsman, who told me in instancing the animal's fleetness, that he had once a very superior grey hound, which was brought into contest with one of the species in the following manner. The antelope and dog were running at right angles towards each other, the former not discovering the hound until they were within twenty feet of each other. The struggle then commenced, but the antelope shot away from the dog with the most astonishing swiftness. The race lasted for a quarter of a mile, each doing his best, but the antelope had then outran the dog so far, that the latter actually stood still and gazed after him in utter astonishment. Yet this hound had often run down deer and wolves with ease. The antelope is a very wary animal, and consequently extremely difficult of approach. His curiosity is, however, very great; and the hunter adapting himself to the habits of the animal, conceals himself behind a hillock of sand, or some other object, and putting his hat, cap, or handkerchief upon the end of his ram rod, waves it gently to and fro to attract his attention. As soon as the antelope sees it, he slowly approaches, occasionally pausing with a snort; then gradually advancing again, snifts the air with the utmost suspicion, and though no breath is heard above the humming of a mosquito, will sometimes turn and dash off several yards, to return in like manner again. At length, however, his fate coaxes him within reach of the trusty rifle—a crack follows, and down he goes. He is not very tenacious of life, and a slight wound will bring him to an almost immediate surrender. Notwithstanding his exceeding fleetness, he can be run down when very fat, on horseback, if the chase is continued for twenty miles. My communicant, who had spent several years in the region of the Rocky Mountains, informed me that they were frequently run down by wolves, and that he had often snatched the jaded prey from these carnivorous banditti at the conclusion of a long chase, and appropriated it to himself. I found the flesh of the antelope very delicious eating. It is very juicy, and is generally prized above venison.

CHAPTER IV.

Visit of Pawnees—Arrival at the Platte—Its valley—Its stream—Buffalo paths—Climate—Dodging a sleeper—Buffalo hunts—Buffalo hunting—Directions how to follow it—Buffalo meat.

OUR course from the 13th to the 17th, lay up the Republican fork of the Blue, and at the close of the latter day we had accomplished two hundred and fifty miles from the rendezvous, giving an average of ten miles a day from the start; stoppages and all included. The Kansas country, which is the section through which we had passed, is nineteen twentieths very fertile prairie, but scantily furnished with timber, except upon the streams. This consists generally of elm, low bur oak, cotton wood, small swamp ash, and a few willows, and these as I said before, only grow (with a few solitary exceptions) on the margin of the streams. In consequence of this defect, there are but few portions of it suitable for farming purposes. The whole country is very scarce in game, and we saw none (barring the veteran buffalo) but a few deer and antelope.

The only description of smaller game we saw, was a small kind of snipe, and a very few small birds of other descriptions. The carcase of a half-starved wild cat, killed by one of the company, attested the paucity of her range, among this description of prey. The streams also were very niggard in their yield of fish. The road from Independence to this point, (the crossing point to the line of the Platte,) is through prairie almost altogether, interrupted only by occasional swells, which are far from being an obstacle to travel. The only difficulties are experienced at the fords upon the streams, which are miry, abrupt, and as I have shown, sometimes difficult to cross. You will, nevertheless, not be driven more than once to a raft.

In the afternoon we encamped for the last time upon the Blue River, and this circumstance in connection with the rapid progress of the last three days, put us in a most excellent humor with ourselves. While we were employed in the usual duties and amusements of such a pause, we received the visit of a large party of Pawnees, who approached us from the south, in which direction they had been on a hunt. They had with them several packs of buffalo meat; the reward of their expedition. They cut this when they butcher it, into long, thin, and wide slices, with the grain of the meat, and then cure it by drying it in the sun. After it is thus dried, they have a mode of pressing it between two pieces of wood, which gives it a very smooth and regular appearance. They gave us of it very liberally, and asked for nothing in return. These Indians are a much superior race to the Kansas and Osages; they wear their hair like the whites; their stature is athletic, and their mien noble. While with us, they straggled freely through the camp, and amused themselves very much by imitating our mode of driving the teams. We informed them, before they left, of the massacre of their brother by the Osages and Caws, upon which they set up a howl of wo, and swore revenge with the most violent gesticulations. They left us as they met us, in the most friendly manner, and we did not suffer from their depredations as we had from those of their enemies.

"Hurrah, for the Platte! tira la! tira la!" cried Jim Wayne from his mouth, and blew Jim Wayne on his bugle, as he galloped up and down the line, on the morning of the 18th. "Hurrah for the Platte! Good morning, Mrs. Robbins!—mornin, McFarley—come, stir about, bustle, bustle, we must reach the Platte today! tira la! tira la!" and away went the mad devil repeating the summons in every quarter. All was stir and bustle; the Platte had long been sighed for as the direct line of route that was to lead us straight to the passage of the mountains, and on its banks we had been assured of finding a constant and abundant supply of game. Being twenty miles or more away, it was necessary we should bestir ourselves at an early hour, to reach it before night-fall. We accordingly get an early breakfast, and soon the long line of the caravan unwound itself over the undulating fields, to span the main dividing ridge between this tributary of the Kansas and the Great Platte. We travelled all day without any interruption, over the finest road imaginable, and just as the sun was going down behind the bleak sand-hills on its northern bank, we caught our first view of the wide and beautiful valley of the American Nile. Being yet two miles distant from its bank, we halted in the fertile bottom land, after having accomplished a distance of twenty-five miles, congratulating ourselves with the prospect of plain sailing, and plenty of fresh provender, until we struck the mountains. This was all we had to console us for a cold supper, in consequence of the complete absence of fuel where we were. In the morning, (19th,) we had to start without breakfast, in consequence of this want, but after travelling a few miles, we found plenty of dry willows to serve our purpose, and then made a most voracious meal. We struck the Great Platte near the head of Grand Island.

This was a beautiful island, lying in the centre of the stream, (very wide at this place,) seventy-five miles in length, and covered with the finest timber, while not a solitary tree grew on the south side of the river, where we were.

Having now brought the reader to the grand avenue, which leads the emigrant direct to his future destination, I will not trespass upon his patience by a description of every day's journey and proceedings, but shall content myself with giving him a general view of the route, its characteristics, facilities and extent; thus advancing with greater rapidity to the main subject of inquiry—Oregon itself; and thus avoiding the unnecessary repetitions of diurnal trips, nine-tenths of which would be in their description mere counterparts of those that went before.

The Great Platte, is one of the most remarkable rivers in the world, and when considered with a view to the facility its level banks afford for intercommunication with our Pacific territories, its value is immense. It takes its rise in Wind River Mountain, (in latitude 42¼,) a little north of, and near the Great Southern Pass, and runs due east, with scarcely a perceptible deviation of course to the traveller along its banks, for a distance of 600 miles, to its junction with its southern branch, and from that point 300 miles more, when it disembogues into the Missouri, in latitude about 41°, 30'. Like the Nile, it runs hundreds of miles through a sterile wilderness, and like the Nile it unrolls its strip of green across the vastness of the desert, and is the father of all the vegetation near it. In the way of navigation, it is useless; its waters being too shallow in great portions of it even to float a canoe, and in the winter it is bound in ice. Its banks are low and sandy, its waters muddy like the Missouri, and its current very rapid. In consequence of its shallowness it is very easy to ford, except when rains have swollen the stream, and then its additional force makes it in places extremely dangerous. Though it varies greatly as to width, its average breadth is about two miles, and its centre is frequently diversified with most beautiful islands, large and small, covered with the finest trees whose rich and clustering foliage contrast splendidly with the sand-hills and wide prairie plains on either side. On each side of the river, and at the distance of about three miles from either bank, run a continuous line of sand-hills. From the foot of these, to the water's edge, is spread a sheet of lively verdure, and on the other side, the boundless level is only lost in the line of the horizon.

The banks of the Platte are generally devoid of trees, and we suffered a great scarcity of wood previous to reaching Fort Larimie in consequence; but we frequently found bunches of willows, and more than once, the remains of Indian wigwams of the same material, eked out a substitute for cooking purposes. Our general expedient was to pick up pieces of drift wood from the river, during the day. These we could get at the expense of wading to our knees, and they supplied all our necessities with a little care. But little fuel is required if proper means are used in consuming it; and to proceed correctly, with a view to saving, a narrow ditch should first be dug in the earth about eight inches wide, a foot deep, and about a yard long; this arrangement confines the heat, and prevents the wind from scattering and wasting the fire.

The valley of the Great Platte is from fifteen to twenty miles wide, beyond which line, on either side, the prairies lose a portion of their fertility, and gradually extend towards the west in arid and cheerless wastes. The strip along the banks, of which I spoke before, is filled with the most luxuriant herbage, the sand hills which bar it from the plain beyond, are about three miles through, and the outer prairie interminable. Within these sand hills you will find numerous vallies covered with a profuse bottom vegetation, and leading by easy tracks from plain to plain. Upon the outer plain, and sometimes in the sand hills, you will find buffaloes and numbers of white wolves, and upon the inner one, range the antelope and deer. When the season is wet, the buffalo find plenty of water in the ponds or puddles of the outer plain, and, consequently, are not forced to the inner one, or to the river on its edge, for water. As the summer advances, and the ponds dry up, these animals gradually approach the stream, and are found in numbers in the inner section. As you go along the edge of the river, you are struck with the numerous beaten paths diverging in the direction of the sand hills, and leading across the surface of the farther plain. A stranger is at a loss, at first, to account for such signs of population in a wilderness, but, upon inquiry, they are found to be the tracks made by the buffalo, in their journey to the banks of the stream for water. These paths are cut to the depth of six or eight inches in the soil, and indicate by their narrowness, the habit of the animals in these excursions to proceed in narrow file. In travelling up the Platte, we crossed one of these paths at almost every thirty yards, and they were about the only annoyance we met with upon the surface of the plain. They are serviceable in a high degree in one view, for they afford a perfect security against your getting lost, your simple resource when having strayed far away on a hunt, being, merely to strike a buffalo track, and you are sure to be in a road leading directly to the river, by the nearest route.

The whole road along the line of this stream, is doubtless the best in the world, considering its length. The greatest inconvenience attendant on its travel that I know of, is the unconquerable propensity it occasions in one to sleep in the day time. The air is so bland, the road so smooth, and the motion of the vehicle so regular, that I have known many a teamster go to sleep while his team stood winking idly in the road without budging a step. The usual custom with us when such a case as this would occur, was for each wagon in turn to drive cautiously around the sluggard, and leave him to have his nap out in the middle of the road. It would sometimes happen the sleeper would not awake for two or three hours, and when he arrived that time behind in camp, he would either swing around in a towering passion, or slink out of the reach of our merciless tauntings, heartily ashamed.

On the 22d of June we saw the first band of buffalo on the plain near the river. There were about fifty altogether—and they were on their road through the sand hills to the river to drink. We immediately mounted and gave chase, and being fortunately to the leeward, they did not get scent of us until we were well down upon them; then by pushing our horses to their utmost speed, we managed to get near enough for a shot, and a general discharge succeeded in bringing down two of the finest of the lot.

As the buffalo is sometimes a very important item in the emigrant's calculations for food, it will not be improper for me here to devote a few remarks upon the manner of obtaining them.

There is perhaps no chase so exciting to a sportsman as a buffalo hunt, and the reader can readily imagine the tremendous addition its interest receives when the stomach has been in rebellion for hours, perhaps for days, from the insidious excitements of the fresh prairie air. The mode of hunting these noble animals is very simple. They are most generally found upon the outer range, grazing near the head of some hollow, leading up towards the sand hills. The sight of the buffalo is very dull, but their scent, by its superior acuteness, compensates for this defect. You must, therefore, always manage, if possible, to get to the leeward of them, or you are almost certain to see the whole herd scamper off before you arrive in pulling distance. As an instance of this, I one day saw a band of about a hundred buffaloes at two miles distance on the opposite side of the river running up its line on a parallel with our train. They did not see us, but the wind being from our side, they caught the scent when about opposite our centre, upon which they turned off instantly at a right angle and scoured away like mad. Approach them to the leeward, however, and you are almost certain to get within easy shooting distance. When you have discovered a herd close up to the line of the hills, you should station your horses in some hollow near at hand, (but out of sight,) and then creep cautiously up to your position, pick out your animals, and fire, one at a time, in slow succession. If you give them a volley, they directly scamper off, and a rapid succession of shots is followed by the same result; but if you load and fire slowly, you may kill several before the whole herd take alarm. I have seen three or four reel down, or bound into the air and fall, without exciting any attention from their indifferent companions. When you have fired as often as you can, with effect, from the position you have taken, and the animals have moved beyond your reach, you should hasten to your horses, mount with all speed, and approach as near as possible without showing yourselves; but when you do, put your horses up to the top of their speed and away after the game as fast as you can go. You may dash at a band of buffaloes not more than a hundred yards off, and though you may think you are about to plunge into the very midst of them in a moment, you will find if your horse is not well down to his work, that they will slip away like legerdemain. Though they appear to run awkwardly, they contrive to "let the links out" in pretty quick succession, and if you suffer them to get any kind of a start, you must expect to have a hard run to overtake them. The better plan, therefore, is to put your horse to the top of his speed at once, and thus by bringing the matter to a climax, you obviate the inconvenience of being drawn to a distance from the camp, and of making your jaded steed carry a wearisome load several miles back.

If you hit a bull from cover and he sees no enemy, he will at once lie down, but if you press him on the open plain, when injured, he will resent the wrong, turn short round, bow his neck and waving his tail to and fro over his back, face you for a fight. At this crisis of affairs, it is well to show him some respect, and keep at a convenient distance. If you will content yourself with fifty yards he will stand and receive your fire all day. As soon as you bring him once at bay you are sure of him, for you may fire as often as you please, and the only indication he gives before going down, of having received a wound, is by a furious kicking at the assaults of his deadly visitant. You must not attempt to kill him by shooting at his head, for you will only spatter your ineffectual lead upon his frontal bone, but shoot him behind the shoulder at the bulge of the ribs, or just below the back bone in the same latitude, and you will pass your ball directly through the thick part of the lungs. This is the most deadly of all shots, for the flow of blood stifles his respiration and suffocates him at once. When excited these animals are very hard to kill, and unless when wounded in this fatal spot, I have seen them so tenacious of existence as to live for hours, even with two or three bullets through their hearts.

The animal though it generally flies pursuit, is capable of the most romantic deeds of daring. An instance of this kind occurred on the 27th of June. We had stopped our wagons at noon within half a mile of the river, and while enjoying the comforts of our mid-day meal, we discovered seven large buffalo bulls slowly moving up the opposite shore of the river. When they got directly opposite our encampment, they turned and plunged suddenly into the stream and swam directly towards us as straight as they could come, in the face of wagons, team, cattle, horses, men and all. Every man prepared his gun, and those on the extreme ends of the line, stretched down to the bank of the river, thus forming a complete semicircle of death for their reception. Notwithstanding we were thus prepared for their approach, we all felt certain they would turn tail and recross the river; but to our complete astonishment, on they came, regardless of our grim and threatening array. They were received with a tremendous bombardment, and down went every bellowing vagabond to the ground. Several of them rose to their feet, but the storm of death bore them back again upon the sod and not a single one escaped to profit by this lesson of imprudence.

There is perhaps no flesh more delicious to a traveller's appetite than buffalo meat, particularly that cut from a fat young buffalo cow; and it has the peculiar advantage of allowing you to eat as much as you please without either surfeit or oppression. I shall never forget the exquisite meal I made on the evening of the first of June. I had been out hunting all day, was very weary, and as hungry as a whole wilderness of tigers. Out of compassion for my complete fatigue, Mrs Burnett cooked six large slices from a fat young buffalo for my supper. My extravagant hunger induced me to believe when I first saw the formidable array served up, that I could readily dispose of three of them. I *did* eat three of them, but I found they were but the prologue to the fourth, the fourth to the fifth, and that to the sixth, and I verily believe that had the line stretched out to the crack of doom," I should have staked my fate upon another and another collop of the prairie king. This story hardly does me credit, but the worst is yet to come, for two hours afterward, I shared the supper of Dumberton, and on passing Captain Gant's tent on my way *home*, I accepted an invitation from him to a bit of broiled tongue; yet even after this, I went to bed with an unsatisfied appetite. I am no cormorant, though I must admit I acted very much like one on this occasion. My only consolation and excuse, however, is that I was not a single instance of voracity in my attacks upon broiled buffalo meat.

CHAPTER V.

Progress of travel—Grand complimentary ball to the Rocky Mountains—Route through the mountains—Its points—Its general character—Passage through the pass—Arrival in Oregon.

On the 29th of June, we crossed the south fork of the Platte. On the 1st of July we crossed the north fork at a distance of thirty-one miles from the passage the day but one before, and then proceeded along its northern bank for a period of nine days, passing in succession the points on the route known as "Cedar Grove," "the Solitary Tower," "the Chimney," and "Scott's Bluffs," until we arrived at Fort Larimie on the 9th; thus averaging, from the time of our crossing the south fork on the morning of the 29th of June, about sixteen miles a day. During this period, and this space of march, the weather was uninterruptedly fine, the thermometer ranging from 74° to 83°, and the face of the road suffering no sensible variation. We paused for a day at Fort Larimie, and resumed our march on the morning of the 11th. From this point thereout, we suffered no further scarcity of timber, but we now began to encounter a few more difficulties from the surface of the road. This we found to be interrupted by bolder undulations, and after we had travelled eight miles further westward, we came to the *debris*, as it may be called, of the Black Hills, whose occasional abrupt inclinations, now and then caused our teams a little extra straining, but did not require us to resort to double ones. This lasted but for a short distance, however, and we were soon on a level route again. On the 16th we struck the Sweetwater, a beautiful little tributary of the Platte, and following its course for one hundred miles, at last came in view, on the afternoon of the 30th, of the eternal snows of the Rocky Mountains. We still had an open route before us, and a portion of the day remained to avail ourselves of it if we pleased; but this event was worthy of the commemoration of an encampment, and we accordingly wound up the line two hours earlier than usual. The hunters of our party had been fortunate this day in obtaining some fine antelope and two fat young buffaloes, and we set out for a regular feast. When the meal was over, and when the prospective perils which lay in the entrails of those grim giants had been canvassed again and again, we broke from all grave considerations to consecrate the evening to merriment. The night was beautiful, scarcely a breath stirred the air, and the bright stars in the blue vault above, looked brighter than ever. The camp fires streaming upwards from the prairie plains, flooded the tents with their mellow light, and made the tops of the quadrangular barricade of wagons, look like a fortification of molten gold. Jim Wayne's fiddle was at once in request, and set after set went in upon the sward to foot a measure to its notes. McFarley and the representative of Big Pigeon forgot in the moment all the bickerings of their ambition, and formed two of a party (amongst whom was my old friend, Green, the Missourian,) who listened to the Indian traditions of Captain Gant, and then told their own wonderful stories in return. The revelry was kept up till a late hour, and the result was, that the whole party went to bed worn out with pleasure and fatigue. From this point we pursued a directly western course, crossing in our route two creeks called "Big Sandy" and "Little Sandy," and three or four others, until we struck Green river, a tributary of the Colorado, which empties its waters into the Pacific, in the Mexican bay of San Francisco. We followed Green river down its course through the mountains for twenty miles, where we struck a branch of it called Black's fork. From thence we turned off in a westerly direction for thirty miles, to Fort Bridger. Still west we proceeded for twenty more, to a branch of the Great Bear river, called Big Muddy, and down this branch for thirty-seven miles of fine travel, in a north westerly direction to Great Bear river itself. We now took up the course of Great Bear river, and following it in a north westerly direction for fifty-seven miles, passed a range of hills which run down nearly to its bank; and continuing our course for thirty-eight miles more, arrived at the Great Soda springs. From the Great Soda Sprrngs, which we left on the 27th August, we took the course of a valley leading to the great dividing ridge between us and Oregon, and after passing up it to the distance of about forty-five or fifty miles, came upon the wide depression of the mountains that was to lead us into the promised land. This remarkable pass is so gentle in its slope, as to afford no obstacle for the heaviest loaded wagons; and, without any difficulty at all, our most cumbrous teams passed through it into the valley of the Saptin, the southern branch of the Columbia. This natural avenue, though surrounded, nay, almost overhung, in parts, with immense crags of frowning desolation, was covered, generally, with the softest and most delightful verdure that had for a long time met our eyes. A beautiful little brook meandered through it; flowers and trees were flourishing along it in profusion, and the sweet scent and soft air that floated in our faces off its fields, half persuaded us that we were suffering the delusion of some fairy dream. Impatient of delay, some dozen or two of us on horseback, plunged into the inviting scene, and led the way at a gallop to a view of the region beyond.

We soon arrived at the waters of the Portneuf, and from this point reined up our panting steeds to gaze upon the valley of the Saptin which lay at last before us. In an instant every head was uncovered, and a cheer rang back into the gorge to the ears of our companions, which made every team strain and wagon crack with renewed exertion. It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm which this event created in our party. Each wagon as it arrived at the point unfolding to the view the region which had been the object of our dearest hopes and the occasion of our weary travel, set up a cheer, which taken up by those behind, rang through every sinuosity of the pass and reverberated along the sides of the beetling crags which hemmed it in. Jim Wayne who was always "about" when any thing of moment was afoot, was among the foremost to reach the point of sight, and there, with his bugle which he had burnished and swung around his neck for the occasion, he planted himself, receiving every wagon with "Yankee Doodle," "Hail Columbia," or "The Star-spangled Banner," and only pausing in the tunes, to wave the instrument in the air, in immense sweeps, to the measure of the answering shouts.

This passage was performed on the 29th of August, and on the afternoon of that day we pitched our tents in the valley of the southern arm of the great River of the West. The region we had passed through from the 30th July up to the 29th August, comprised all the passes through the Rocky Mountains, and was by far the most arduous and difficult portion of the whole journey. We performed it, however, without sustaining any loss or injury beyond the bursting of a single tire, and yet averaged while doing it, the distance of about twelve miles a day. In many parts of this region we had to move sharply to secure water and range for our cattle, and the scarcity of game, forced us, so far as we were personally concerned, pretty much upon the resources of our private larders. Though consisting to a large extent of beetling rock, arid plains, craggy defiles and frowning gorges, Nature has provided throughout a large portion of this route, a continuous line of valleys, nourished by gentle rivers, whose fertile banks furnish abundant pasture for your cattle, and provide a road from the eastern to the western limits of the Rocky Mountains and through the spurs of the intermediate region, better than many of the wagon routes in some of the eastern states. The greater portion of this country, however, is a sterile, flinty waste, and except in occasional dots, and in the green ribbons that bind the edges of the stream, is worthless for agricultural purposes. One of the features of this section, of singular interest, is the number of soda springs it contains, of a most remarkable character. They are situated mostly on Great Bear river, at the end of the valley leading up to the pass. There you will find them, bubbling, and foaming, and sending up from their clear depths and gravelly bottoms a continual discharge of gas and steam, as though they were sunken cauldrons of boiling water. They are represented to possess highly medicinal qualities, and it is said the Indians set a great reliance upon their virtues for a numerous class of disorders. One of these springs makes a loud bubbling sound, which can be heard at a great distance, and there are others which eject their waters some distance into the air; and others, in addition to these peculiarities, have a temperature above blood heat. To such an extent do these phenomena prevail, that the surface of the river, in the neighborhood of those on the shore, is fretted for several hundred yards with large numbers of them, some of which force their jets many inches above the surface. The scenery about this spot is wild and impressive; but though composed mostly of towering rocks, the faithful bunch of grass still fastens to the vales, and offers its tribute of sustenance and refreshment to the cattle.

On the morning of the 30th, we performed our orisons for the first time in Oregon. For the first time in many dreary days the beetling crags of the Rocky Mountains ran their frowning barriers in our rear, and a broad unbroken plain spread out before us. Our hearts swelled with gratitude and joy, and with these combined emotions came a mingling of surprize, that the passage through the valley and the shadow of that misrepresented gorge, had proved so slightly formidable in its character. This can only be accounted for by the fact that most of the pioneers upon the route, from need of the experience of others who had gone before, in the direction of their preparations, set out without providing properly against the difficulties and privations of the route. Neglecting the important item of provisions, they have relied entirely upon their rifles, and their chance for game, and the result has been, that their stomachs, pinched by occasional deprivation, have spread their dissatisfaction to the mind, and magnified and discolored every difficulty and trifling inconvenience into a monstrosity of hardship. It may readily be imagined, that a traveller on horseback, who was obliged to fly from rise to set of sun, over a barren patch of desert to obtain range and food, would be anything but flattering in his descriptions of the scene of his sufferings and perils; but a well appointed caravan, carrying water in their vehicles, and driving their provender along with them, would enjoy a greater measure of contentment, and be inclined to treat the account of their wayfaring with a far greater degree of fairness and liberality. I do not hesitate to say, as I said before, that any wagon which could perform the journey from Kentucky to Missouri, can as well undertake the whole of this route, and there need be no dread of difficulties, in the way of natural obstructions, of a more serious character. I would be willing to traverse this road twice over again, if I possessed the means to purchase cattle in the States, and this opinion will appear less strange, when I assure the reader that several of the female emigrants feel in the same way disposed for the pleasures of a second expedition. It is true, there is a good deal of labor to perform on the road; but the weather is so dry, and the air so pure and bland, that one turns to it, as he does to the savory meals of the prairie, with a double alacrity and relish. Besides, many of the cares as well as troubles of a first expedition, would be avoided in the second. Experience would be our pioneer, and the continual apprehension of difficulties of an unknown character ahead, would vanish. We would not be continually harassed, whether we should abandon our horses at the pass, whether we should be out of provisions, or whether the route was practicable for travellers like us, at all! These uncertainties are dispersed forever. Emigrants may come now without fear. They will find a road broken to their use; they know the quantity of provisions they need; they know also the supplies they can gather by their rifles; they know that they will not suffer for want of water, and they have also been made aware that all the property they bring with them, is worth double its value as soon as they arrive. Fuel, it is true, is scarce at some points, but proper care and a little trouble, will provide against any suffering for want of that.

You travel along the banks of streams all the way, and you can almost always reap a harvest of dry willows on the surface of the waters, and where these do not offer, you find an equivalent resource in the sedges of their shores.

CHAPTER VI.

Arrival at Fort Hall—The three regions of Oregon—Salmon Falls—The Saptin and the Platte—Fort Boise—Burnt River—The Lone Pine—"Woodman spare that tree"—The Grand Round—Scientific speculation of Mr. McFarley—A fall of snow—An Indian traffic.

We killed a bullock this morning in a fit of extravagance, and after replenishing ourselves with a most substantial breakfast, set out with renewed energies and brightened prospects. We arrived in the afternoon at Fort Hall, a trading post belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, on the Snake or Saptin River, and encamped in a fine piece of timber land, under cover of its wooden battlements. We past a most pleasant evening in exchanging civilities with its inmates, who were not a little surprised at this tremendous irruption in their solitude. Some of the members told us that they could scarcely believe their eyes when they saw the immense stretch of our line, the number of our lowing herds and our squads of prancing horsemen, and they inquired laughingly if we had come to conquer Oregon, or devour it out of hand. They treated us, however, with every attention, and answered with the utmost patience and particularity, all our inquiries in relation to the country.

We paused here a day to recruit our cattle, and when we set out in the morning following, (1st September,) we received a parting salute from one of the guns of the fort, and answered it with a volley from our small arms. Our journey to day commenced through a piece of country well timbered, and possessing a soil apparently capable of raising the grains and vegetables of the States. I learned, however, that the climate of this region is subject to frequent frosts, the severity of which are fatal to agricultural operations of any magnitude.

Oregon, or the territory drained by the Columbia, is divided by immense mountain ranges into three distinct regions, the climate and other natural characteristics of which are entirely different from each other. The first region is that lying along the coast of the Pacific, and extending in the interior to the line of the Cascade range; the second region lies between the Cascade chain and the Blue mountains, and the third, between the Blue and the Rocky mountains.

The first of these has a warm, dry and regular climate, and it is the abode of continual fertility. The second, or middle region, consists chiefly of plains between ridges of mountains, the soil of which is poor. The timber also is very scarce upon it, and what there is is soft and poor. The climate during the summer is agreeable and salubrious; but the winter brings with it frequent rains. Many of its plains, though generally unfit for agricultural purposes, are covered continually with an abundant crop of short grass, which renders it a splendid field for raising stock, and for grazing purposes.

The third region is called *the high country*, and is a mere desert, consisting of ridges of rocks of volcanic strata and alternate sandy plains. It has its occasional fertile spots, it is true, but they are few and far between. Its distinguishing features are its excessive dryness, and the extraordinary difference of the temperature between night and day. This extremity amounting sometimes to a variation of 40 or even 50 degrees, is modified somewhat in the approach toward the middle region, but this outside section is doubtless incapable of being reclaimed to any great extent by the hand of man.[*] We emerged from the patch of vegetation around Fort Hall in a few hours upon wide barren plains of yellow sandy clay, which among its short and dry grass, bore nothing but the wild wormwood and the prickly pear, with here and there some stunted cotton wood or willow.

We crossed the Portneuf at the distance of eleven miles from our starting place, and still kept along the lower bank of the Saptin, the country remaining the same in its character—a desert wilderness except in the partial vegetation on its streams. We found the evenings now getting to be quite cold; the nipping air driving us to our camp fires and directing our attention to extra coverlets; but the morning sun after getting an hour high, would give us another temperature, and till evening came again, we would have genial summer weather.

We reached the Salmon Falls (or Fishing Falls, as they are called from the great numbers of fish which abound in them) on the 11th, after having passed through a piece of country still the same in its barren and volcanic character, for the distance of one hundred and forty miles from Fort Hall. We here caught an abundance of fine salmon, and after a short enjoyment of the sport, moved onward on our course. Our eagerness, now that we had conquered the Rocky mountains, to get to the limit of our final destination, was extreme.

On the 14th we arrived at Boiling Spring. The country around this spot was wild in the extreme, the same arid, volcanic plain, flowing its sterile billows on before us—a vast lake of barren waste, hemmed in and bound by shores of beetling crags and towering mountains.

We were all the journey up to this point, still on the western bank of the Snake or Saptin river, but we crossed to its eastern shore above these springs, and followed the course of the other side. As this river is of the same importance to the emigrant for his travel in this region, as the Great Platte is for the Western Prairies, it is deserving of a special notice. The Platte is a tributary to the Missouri, and unrolls its loveliness and vegetation from the States to the base of the Rocky mountains; while the Saptin takes up the task on the western side of this stupendous barrier and leads the wayfarer in the same manner along its banks, until it yields its waters to the Columbia near Wallawalla.

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[*] Mr. Wyeth saw the thermometer on the banks of Snake river, in August, 1832, mark eighteen degrees of farenheit at sunrise, and ninety two degrees at noon of the same day.

Another striking feature of similarity is, that the country on either side of the Rocky mountains is a dry and barren desert for the space of two hundred miles. Through these sierras roll the streams of the respective rivers, trellicing the vast and naked wastes with their strips of fruitful green.

The head waters of the Lewis, Snake or Saptin river, as it is variously called, rise in the mountains between the 42d and 44th degree of latitude. Thence it flows westwardly, passing through a ridge of the Blue mountains, and so on north-westwardly to its junction with the Columbia, receiving in its way the Malade, the Waptitacos, the Salmon River, the Malheur, the Burnt River, Powder River, and others of less significance. Its waters are very clear, and its current is, at some places, extremely swift. The rapids on it are extensive and frequent, and in consequence, the river is not navigable, except in occasional spots of still water between.

Forty-eight miles more through deserts sprinkled with volcanic rock, and we struck the Boisé river. We had diverged from the bank of the Saptin into a valley stretching north west, which brought us to the Boisé. We crossed this stream at its junction with the Saptin, and thence followed the eastern bank of the latter for eight or nine miles, until we arrived at Fort Boisé. This was on the morning of the 20th September. For the last twenty miles, the country had changed its character entirely. As soon as we struck the valley of the Boisé, instead of parched and sandy plains, cut rock and frowning crags, our eyes were gladdened with green vales, flowering shrubs and clustering timber lands. The grateful sight was welcomed with a common spring of joy, and our wearied and hunger pinched cattle revelled in the luxuries of its heavy herbage.

On the 22d we left Fort Boisé, and after travelling over an excellent road for fifteen miles, we came to a creek in the latter part of the afternoon. This we crossed without serious difficulty, and encamped upon its western bank. Throughout this day the wind had blown quite cool from the N. W. and we had to suffer also from an impoverished and scanty range and a scarcity of fuel.

On the 23d we started off again with the same cutting wind that had visited us the day before, and which staid with us over night. Our road to day was tolerably good, and after having accomplished sixteen miles over it, we brought our day's journey to a close on the bank of a dry creek, with no water at hand, except what we found in a sort of puddle in its bed. Two miles further on would have taken us to a good encampment, with plenty of fine range and water, but the Indian pilot who had been employed for us by Dr. Whitman was ahead, and out of reach with the foremost wagons.

On the 24th we had to encounter a very hilly road, which retarded our progress most seriously. The hills, however, were not high, neither were they rugged or abrupt, but they were frequent and thence our difficulty. We saw the Saptin to day for the last time, for it now left our track in a bold northward curve till it returned to the Columbia near Wallawalla. We were able to make no more than ten miles to day, encamping at the close upon another creek called Burnt river. This stream derives its title from the numerous fires which have consumed portions of the timber in its banks. This consists principally of cotton wood and birch, which abound in its valley; and these are also intermixed with aspen and willow. The stream does not deserve the name of a river, being merely an ordinary sized creek, but as others of less importance claim that title in this region, it may as well be accorded to it.

September 25th we started up the line of the Burnt river. The valley of the stream is very narrow, at some points being not more than twenty yards across, and it is hemmed in by mountains on either side. Though it abounds in timber, quite a safe and passable road could be made through it by clearing out the space for a track, but to do this effectually, several crossings of the stream would have to be made. This could easily be performed in consequence of its low banks and firm bottom, but we had no time to clear out the way, and of late, the tortuousness of the roads had so scattered and divided our company, that we proceeded helter skelter along in separate detachments, each following, as best it could, the careless lead of those who went before. We were thus betrayed into many difficulties that might have been avoided, if an orderly arrangement had been preserved. Sometimes the turn only of a few yards would have saved us the most obstructive hills and hollows, and I am informed that the course of the river could have been avoided altogether by a turn to the left, which strikes the trail near Powder river, running in an extensive plain, remarkable for a solitary tree in its midst, known as "The Lone Pine." But if this should not be the case,* I would advise future emigrants to select some eight or ten good men to send on ahead, to search for the most eligible route, and, if necessary, to clear one. This will save them much trouble. The range from this spot to the end of the journey is most excellent; the bunch grass is plenty in the valleys and in the sides of the hills, and there are plenty of rushes along the banks of this stream. We made but eight miles to-day.

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* It is the case.

On the 26th, the road got worse, if anything, than before, and after floundering through hills and hollows, for six miles, we struck a hill of most difficult ascent, that required us to double our teams. Yet even this hill, as well as another still more difficult, which we descended, might have been entirely avoided by an advance of two hundred yards farther up the stream, where nature has furnished an easy ascent round the sides of both. This, however, was not discovered until all the wagons had passed. The above hill is the first that we have met in our road, which obliged us to double our teams.

September 27th.—We were visited last night by a sharp, keen frost, and when we turned out in the morning we found the shivering chill still lingering among the valleys of the surrounding mountains. This morning we emerged from our troublous passage through the immediate valley of the river, and struck a beautifully undulating valley which fringed with its luxurious productions the border of a lovely plain. In the mixed vegetation which here abounded in rich profusion, we found red hawes and cherries in abundance, and also a description of elder berries, which, unlike ours, that are of an insipid sweet, have a delicious tartness, somewhat similar in flavor to winter grapes before they are touched with the frost. In the course of the day we passed a Kiuse village, and after completing twelve miles over a good road, halted for the night.

September 28th.—Our route to-day lay through a beautiful valley surrounded on all sides by the overtopping ridges of the Blue Mountains, their huge bases clothed with immense forests of majestic pines, and their stupendous tops gleaming with everlasting snow. Above their dazzling peaks were piled in grand confusion, masses of fleecy clouds, through the irregular breaks of which the clear azure of the vault above showed its softening contrast, and the sharp rays of the sun poured their floods of radiance. But through all the towering terrors of these mountains, our sweet little valley still wound on, offering its velvet verdure and its gentle surface to facilitate our progress. In the afternoon we emerged upon an extensive plain, which I have mentioned before as remarkable for a solitary tree in its centre. This noble monarch of the plain is a magnificent pine, rearing its head alone amid the level blank of the prairie, that bears no other object on its surface for miles together, higher than a stunted shrub. As we approached this lonely hermit, I could not resist an impression of sadness, and the idea was forced upon my mind that it had stood there a sapling amid a million of its kind, and that when centuries ago, the mastodon and the behemoth abandoned forever their sombre depths, the forest followed on, leaving this solitary scion of their race behind, to mark the spot over which they had waved their sheltering foliage since the beginning of the world.

This splendid outcast has long been known to all travellers in this region as "The Lone Pine," and it could not possibly have received a more expressive and appropriate designation. I was about six miles distant from it when it first attracted my attention, and as we progressed I kept regarding it with admiration, at intervals of every few moments. When but a little more than a mile off, I noticed that the leaders of our line were circling round it, and making demonstrations of an encampment. From the surface of the plain my eyes travelled naturally to the summit of the tree, when I was struck with its unusual motion. I thought I saw it tremble. I was seized with a sudden apprehension, but unwilling to yield to it, I rubbed my eyes and looked again. In the next moment my horse was galloping at top steed over the space that separated me from it, while I, regardless of the distance, was waving my arms to those around it, and shouting to them to desist. I was too late; before I had accomplished half the distance, the majestic monarch tottered for a moment from its perpendicular, then sweeping downwards through the air, thundered in ruin upon the plain. I could have wept for vexation, to see this noble land-mark, which had braved the assaults of time through a thousand winters, thus fall an inglorious victim to the regardless axe of some back-woods' Vandal. It had been cut by some inconsiderate emigrants for fuel; a necessity that could have been more easily and much better supplied, by a profusion of small dead willows that were strewed about; for the pine was so green that it could not be made to burn at all. We this day accomplished eighteen miles.

September 29th.—We left the plain and its prostrate land-mark this morning and in the middle of the day entered another valley, as rich in its fertility as the one of the day before, and like it, it also ran between two immense parallel ranges of snow-topped mountains, the sites of which, a little way below the vegetation line, were covered with thick forests of pine to where their bases were lost in the bottom swells. The range along here, was very superior, and the surrounding proofs of general fertility gave evidence of its being admirably adapted to grazing purposes. The soil is most excellent, but the drought at the same time, must often be severe. Most of this beautiful valley might be irrigated from the tributaries of Powder River, (itself a tributary of the Saptin,) several of which we had to cross in following the course of this wide valley prairie. Twelve miles to-day.

September 30th.—Travelled nine miles over an excellent road, with the exception of the last half mile, which was rocky and perplexed; but this might have been escaped as we afterwards found, had we turned down an opening to our right, which we had rejected on passing, but which led through a smooth and easy passage directly to the place where we finally encamped.

October 1st.—We this day came to the "Grand Round," the name of an immense valley, one hundred miles in circumference, which will vie in fertility with the valley of the Missouri, or indeed, with any spot in the world. Trees of all kinds are sprinkled throughout its surface; shrubs, flowers, brooks, singing birds, meadow lark, and other winged game, diversify it, with many other of the attractions of more lavish regions, and its general temperature is guaranteed by the evidences of its prodigal vegetation. The Grand Round is nearly circular in its form and lies embosomed in the Blue Mountains, which here, like their predecessors before described, are covered from bottom to top with lofty pines in studded forests. The bottom of this magic circle is rich, level prairie land, trelliced with crystal springs issuing from its surrounding mountain border, which, with but slight assistance from the art of man, could easily be made to irrigate the whole surface of the valley.

In this region abounds a peculiar vegetable called Kamas root, which has a sweet and pleasant taste, and which is also very nutritous food. It is about the size of a partridge egg, and is cured by being dried upon hot stones. We purchased large quantities of it from the numerous Indians we found in the vicinity.

In this region also may be found one of the most wonderful creations of nature, existent in the world. This is a pond, or well, of boiling salt water, hot enough for cooking purposes, and bottomless in its depths. The steam arising from it may be seen at the distance of several miles, and resembles the vapor arising from a salt furnace. It occasioned no small degree of conjecture among the various savans and philosophers of our party, and not a few were the opinions expressed as to its cause. McFarley, however, gave the most satisfactory account of any, to the inquirers. He represented the meridian of Grand Round to be exactly opposite to Mount Vesuvius, on the other side of the globe; that that tremendous volcano "had been burnin long afore Christ, and it stood to reason, as it eat deeper and deeper into the bowels of the earth, it must eventually come out on the other side." He believed this spring to be an indication of its approach to the western surface, and that "the superincumbent weight of water upon the spot was all that kept it for a time from burstin to a vent." He then added his deliberate opinion, that ere long, the area of the Grand Round would be the scene of a tremendous eruption and the circle of mountains which hemmed it in, would be the rim of its crater.

This notion created no small alarm among some of our folks, and a very extensive opinion prevailed that it was better to move on as soon as possible, and give Vesuvius a chance.

I should have mentioned before, that on entering the "Grand Round," we had to descend an abrupt declivity of three or four hundred feet, covered with loose rocks, as large, and, in some cases larger than a man's head. This was by far the worst hill we had yet descended, but by locking both hind wheels, and with teams so well trained as ours, we all descended in about three hours without hurt or injury to a single soul, and no damage was done to our truck beyond a slight crush of one side of a wagon body.

October 2d.—We ascended a hill, or rather a mountain, at the edge of the "Grand Round," and then descended it in an extensive declivity on the other side, ending at a fine running creek for which I could find no name, but on the banks of which we encamped. Both of these hills, the one at the entrance and the other at the outlet of the Grand Round, might be better avoided by turning to the left upon the mountain side and passing them altogether. We passed during the latter part of this day, through large bodies of heavy pine timber, and I will take this occasion to remark, that the timber of the Blue mountains were the first considerable bodies we had seen since we left the banks of the Kanzas.

October 3d.—We were obliged to-day to ascend and descend three very bad hills, and to pass over eight miles of a very rough and difficult road, a portion of it running through a track heavily timbered with pine. We cut through this a road for the wagons, and it now offers much superior facilities for those who follow.

October 4th.—This day our route stretched through the still continuous pine, but they were more sparely scattered than before, and our progress consequently was more easy. The weather was cold and bleak.

October 5th.—A slight fall of snow this morning brought us to our heaviest clothing, and increased the size of our early camp-fires. The roads were excellent before us, but in consequence of two bad hills, and the disposition to linger round our fires, we did not make more than eight miles, after completing which, we went early to camp.

On the 6th, we descended the Blue mountains, by an easy and gradual declination over an excellent road, and encamped on the banks of the Umatilla river near a Kiuse village. This stream, like most of the rivers we had crossed in Oregon, was nothing more than a good sized creek. Its waters were beautifully clear and its banks were studded with an abundance of cotton wood timber. We were now in the second region of Oregon, and from the moment we had descended from the mountains, we felt the difference of the two climates. The one we had left being sharp and severe, and this being mild and dry, and offering in its abundant grasses superior facilities for stock raising and grazing.

After descending from the region of the pine, we had now come into a country of broad sandy plains, intermixed with a yellowish clay, productive, as I have said before, of abundant herbage, but destitute of timber, except upon the margin of the streams. From this point to the Columbia at Wallawalla, is between forty and fifty miles through continuous plains, varied only with occasional hills of sand. This surface, except in the vallies of the streams, is sandy and sterile, yet in its least favored sections it bears a description of scattering bunch grass, upon which the cattle become very fat.

We found the Indians of this village very friendly, and exceedingly anxious to trade with us. They proved their degree of civilization and advance in the arts of agriculture, by bringing us large quantities of Irish potatoes, peas, corn and kamas root, for which we gave them in exchange, clothes, powder, ball and sundry trifles. They raise a large number of horses, by the luxuriant pasturage of the surrounding country, and were continually pressing them upon us for sale, offering two of the finest that we might select, for one of our cows. Seduced by the delights and comforts of this place, after the weary wayfaring we had just passed through in the upper region, we determined to remain here a day to recruit, and we accordingly gave ourselves up to a regular frolic, during which the peas, corn and potatoes, with nice spare ribs, fish and steaks to match, vanished from the earth like witchcraft.

Let me remark, for fear that I may overlook it, that while travelling on the Burnt river, and while passing through the Blue mountains, we had much trouble in finding our stock in the morning, as they wandered off in the bushes during the night, and often strayed out among the hills after the bunch grass. We found the road along this river, and through these mountains, the worst of the whole route, and indeed, nearly all the bad road we saw at all. Lieutenant Fremont who came behind us, and who had Mr. Fitzpatrick for a guide, went further down the Grand Round to the right, came out at a different point, and made his way through the Blue mountains by a route, which he states, to be more safe and easy by far than the one by which we came. Our route, at any rate, can be so improved with a small amount of labor as to be quite practicable, and even as it was, we came through it with our wagons in perfect safety, without even unloading them at a single point. Many, if not most of the bad hills we had passed, could have been avoided or overcome, with a very little labor.

CHAPTER VII.

Arrival at Doctor Whitman's Mission—Perplexity—Conflicting Counsels—Division into Squads and successive departures—Progress of the Advance Guard to Vancouver—Our arrival at Fort Wallawalla—Arrangements with its Commander—Naval Operations—Boat Building—the Grand Rapids—the Falls—the Little Dalles—the Grand Dalles—the Whirlpool—Death in the Rapids—General Characteristics of the Middle Region; its Indians, their Habits and Pursuits.

On the 8th October, we moved on and encamped in the afternoon within twenty miles of the Methodist mission establishment, kept by Dr. Whitman, on the banks of a little tributary of the Wallawalla; but not finding the pasturage to our liking, we moved on the next day a few miles further in advance, and finding a prairie offering us all the advantages we sought, the section to which I was attached, determined to make a halt for a few days, to recruit our weary and way worn cattle. Most of the party had advanced before us and were already at the mission, but we, in consequence of our halt, which continued through a period of five days, did not reach there until the 15th. The mission establishment is situated on the north east bank of a small stream emptying into the Wallawalla, around which there are two or three hundred acres in good cultivation, and on the other side of the stream, was the grist mill, where the Doctor converted his grains into flour. It was in a very dilapidated condition when we saw it, but the Doctor informed us that he had made arrangements to rebuild it, and make it an efficient feature of his little colony.

This settlement has existed here under the care of the doctor and his excellent wife, ever since 1834, and by his persevering industry he has fairly coaxed civilization into the very bosom of the wilderness. The stream on which the mission house is situated is from fifteen to twenty yards in width; its clear cool waters run over a gravelly bed at the rate of five or six miles to the hour, and its banks, on either side, are ornamented with groves of flourishing timber, and flowering shrubbery, that are the usual accompaniments of fertility of soil and geniality of climate. The valley of this stream is about thirty miles in circumference, and is a favorite spot with the Kiuse for raising horses, numbers of which we found galloping about in all their native freedom over its plains.

Upon our arrival, we found the pasturage in the immediate vicinity of the mission much eaten out by these animals; but a few miles further back, towards the mountains, it flourished in unsurpassed profusion. We found at Doctor Whitman's every thing to supply our wants, and he furnished us with fine wheat at one dollar per bushel, and potatoes for forty cents. His supply of the first gave out, but he had corn and potatoes in abundance.

While pausing at this place, we were agitated and perplexed in the extreme what course to take in relation to the arrangements we should make for the successful conclusion of our expedition. We were assailed with various opinions from every one we met, and in the general indecision were for a time brought to a dead stand. Most of the residents of the mission agreed in advising us to leave our cattle and wagons at this point, or if we did take them to the Dalles or narrows (a point on the Columbia, 120 miles in advance) to send them back here to winter. Others told us that we could not reach the Dalles with our teams, as jaded as they were, as we would find no range along the course of the Columbia. All, however, seemed to think that it would be impossible for us to get our wagons, or our cattle, to the Willamette this fall. But we had already overcome too many difficulties to admit the word *impossible* as a part of our vocabulary. We could not remain where we were for a number of reasons. The pasturage in the immediate vicinity was too scanty; the width of range would not allow us to keep our stock together, and we suffered an additional danger of their loss from the dishonest practices of the Indians, who, if they did not steal them outright, led them off, for the purpose of being paid to bring them in. Many of us were obliged to pay a shirt (the price uniformly charged by the Indians for every service) for three or four successive mornings, to get back the same animal, and this was a kind of tribute that if kept up, would make fearful inroads upon our wardrobe. The majority of the emigrants therefore resolved to attempt the threatened dangers to the actual evils that now beset us. Accordingly they set out in squads, on successive days, and before the end of the month, all had reached the Dalles in safety. What surprised them most, after the representations which had been made, was the fine pasturage they met with all along the way, and especially at the Dalles, where, we had been led to believe, the cattle could not subsist at all during the winter. As the parties to which I now allude, preceded me, I may as well continue this anticipatory account of the route as far as it concerns their progress. They struck off in a south westerly direction, leaving the sterility of the river's bank, and instead of perishing for want of range, their cattle even improved all along the way. Some of them left their wagons at the Dalles, and drove their cattle through the Cascade mountains, conveying their baggage and families on pack horses through the mountain paths; and some went down the river by the boats. But the greatest portion of them constructed rafts of dead pine timber, a few miles below the Dalles, large enough to carry six or eight wagons, and upon these floated safely down to the Cascades on the Columbia. Their cattle were driven down the river's bank about thirty miles, then swam across and were driven down the other bank to Vancouver. Here the party obtained boats from Dr. McLaughlin, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishments in Oregon, and returned to the Cascades for such of the families, wagons and baggage as had been left behind. This method was found to be, of all, the most successful. By the first of December, all the emigrants had arrived at Vancouver, but the greatest portion of them had reached there as early as the fifteenth of the preceding month.

The large portion of the emigration to which I belonged, arrived at Fort Wallawalla, on the 16th October. This we found to be a rough parallelogram constructed out of the drift wood drawn from the river during the annual rise of the Columbia, in June and July. It is situated on the northern bank of the Wallawalla, just where it joins the Columbia. We found a Mr. McKinley, a very intelligent Scotchman, in charge of this post, and at his hands received every civility and attention. This gentleman proposed to us a conditional arrangement, subject to the ratification or refusal of Doctor McLaughlin, his superior, at Vancouver, in regard to our cattle. He represented the impossibility of our conveying them to Vancouver, and to save us any loss, offered to take them for himself, and give us an order on the Doctor for an equal number of Spanish cattle of the same age and gender, in the possession of the latter at the before-mentioned station. If Dr. McLaughlin disapproved of the arrangement, Mr. McKinley was to hold our cattle subject to our order, and to receive one dollar per head for their keeping. This was a pretty acute arrangement of his, as we afterwards found, but as it eventuated in nothing but a temporary deprivation of our beasts, we did not have occasion to regard it as a very serious matter. As soon as this arrangement was made, we went to work briskly in building boats from material which we sawed out of the drift wood of the stream, and having all our preparations completed on the 20th, we set out on that day with Indian pilots for our guides.

The Columbia at Wallawalla, is a beautiful clear and calm stream, and about as wide as the Ohio at Louisville, Kentucky. We made fifteen miles the first day, and on the morning of the second, passed in safety the Grand Rapids, one of the most dangerous points on the river. From this point to the falls, about ten miles above the Dalles, we passed through many severe rapids and narrow passes. At the falls, where the whole Columbia tumbles down a perpendicular ledge of rocks from a height of ten feet, we were obliged to draw our boat from the stream and make a portage of about three quarters of a mile, and then launch her anew. This was done with the help of a party of Indians, thirty-five in number, whom we found at the place of our landing, and whom we employed to shoulder our baggage and carry our boat the necessary distance; giving to each of them for the service, five loads of powder and ball, and to their chief, *a shirt* [illegible] some tobacco. These fellows appeared to understand their interests very well, and subserved them often with as much acuteness as thorough Yankees. Employ all, or none, was the word, and until we had made a fair business arrangement with the chief, not a lop ear would lend a hand to any of our work. The chief spoke English very well; was a tall, fine looking fellow, dressed in the broadcloth costume of a white man, and wore upon his feet, instead of moccasins, a pair of very fine shoes. His authority appeared to be absolute, and the moment he gave the word of command every thing was performed with the regularity of clock work. Our boat, which was a superior one, that I had procured by especial favor from Mr. McKinley, had now far outstripped all the rest, and indeed, when we left the river for the portage, the remainder of the flotilla had been out of sight for several hours. After our launch, we pursued the stream for four or five miles, when we struck the little Dalles. This is a narrow channel, rushing in whirlpools and dangerous rapids through two precipitous walls of rock. Here we were obliged again to put our families on shore to lighten the boat, and to procure some Indians to take her through the gorge. Below this point, and between it and the Grand Dalles, we encountered some severe and threatening rapids, all of which, however, we safely overcame. The Grand Dalles is a narrow channel cut through the solid rock, over which it used to flow and fall, by the mere force of the stream. This channel is about two miles in length, and runs between perpendicular walls of basaltic rock, which fence it in on either side, to the height of four or five hundred feet. When the river is low, it may be navigated with but little danger, but if swollen, it is death to attempt it, and a portage must of necessity be made. We employed some more Indians here, but Isaac Smith, our intrepid waterman, insisted upon acting as the coxswain. It was fortunate for us he did, for when we were about in the middle of the pass, the stroke paddle snapped in two, pitching the Indian who worked it, nearly over the bows, and the boat suddenly twisted around and shot down the stream stern forwards. Smith alone was calm, and seizing a paddle from the red skin nearest to him, shouted in a voice of authority, which danger sanctions in superiority, "Down! down! every soul of you!" Fixing his eye upon a whirlpool ahead, he waited until we reached it, and then adroitly striking his paddle in the water, by a dexterous movement whipped her head into the force of a circling eddy, and checking it instantly on the other side, before she could repeat the motion, our little craft shot like an arrow from the perilous spot, head on again, into a smoother current. Smith drew a heavy sigh of relief as he handed the paddle back, and sat down in his place without evincing any other sign of satisfaction at the triumphant result of his exploit.

The Columbia river above this point can never be made safe for boats of any size; the navigation being difficult and uncertain, even at low water; and when high, as I said before, it is quite impassable. But the day after our passage, one of Captain Applegate's skiffs upset with three men and three boys. Two of the boys and one of the men were drowned. The former were about ten years old—one of them being the son of Captain Jesse Applegate, and the other of Lindsay Applegate. The man drowned was an old man named McClelland, who steered the skiff.

During our passage from the Wallamette to the Dalles, we saw no timber on the Columbia river, or near it, indeed no bolder vegetation appeared than a few occasional willows near its brink. The Indians are numerous all along its line, and are exceedingly thievish, stealing without hesitation everything they can lay their hands on. The reason of their being so numerous in this quarter is, that the Falls and the Dalles are the great fisheries of the Columbia river, where immense numbers of salmon are annually taken by these primitive fishermen.

Before leaving this region, I will remark, that the portion we saw of it in our passage down the river, was of a description that should by no means be taken as an evidence of its general character. Beyond the immediate line of the Columbia, which is a tract of blank, discouraging sterility, stretch numbers of fertile plains, which, though not adapted to the general purposes of agriculture, produce a rich, continual and luxuriant herbage, admirably adapted to grazing purposes, and indeed rendering it second to no region in the world for raising stock. Its surface is almost a thousand feet above the level of the sea, and it is generally a rolling prairie country, with the exception of that portion about a hundred, or a hundred and fifty miles to the north, which is barren and rugged, and much broken with rivers and mountain chains. It is in this section that all the horses are reared for the supply of the Indians and the traders of the interior. "It is not uncommon," says Captain Wyeth, "that one Indian owns hundreds of them. I think this section for producing hides, tallow, and beef, superior to any part of North America; for with equal facilities for raising the animals, the weather in the winter when the grass is best, and consequently the best time to fatten the animals, is cold enough to salt meat, which is not the case in Upper California. There is no question that sheep might be raised to any extent in a climate so dry and so sufficiently warm, and where so little snow or rain falls. It is also the healthiest country I have ever been in, which, I suppose arises from the small quantity of decaying vegetable matter, and there being no obstruction from timber to the passing winds."

The premium portion of this whole region, I have been informed, is the Nez Perces county, which takes its name from one of the tribes inhabiting it. The region, however, in the vicinity of Mr. Spaulding, an American missionary, who has an establishment on the Saptin, a few miles above its junction with the Columbia, is thought to be the finest of all. He has a fine herd of cattle and a very numerous lot of sheep, and I am informed upon good authority, that his ewes have lambs twice a year. The whole surrounding country is covered with a heavy bunch grass which remains green during the whole winter. This generally dries up during the summer heats of July, but it is then as good as hay, and the slight rains in the fall make it shoot up at once, after which it remains green till the succeeding summer. I saw it in October as green as a wheat field.*

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* The following extract from the letter of Nathaniel Wyeth, in the report of the Committee of the House of Representatives on the Oregon Territory, February 16th, 1839, will serve to confirm this description. Wyeth was the enterprising trader who established Fort Hall.

"This country, (the middle region,) which affords little prospect for the tiller of the soil, is perhaps one of the best for grazing in the world. It has been much underrated by travellers who have only passed by the Columbia, the land along which is a collection of sand, and rocks, and almost without vegetation; but a few miles from the Columbia, towards the hills and mountains, the prairies open wide, covered with a low grass of a most nutritious kind, which remains good throughout the year. In September there are slight rains, at which time the grass starts; and in October and November, there is a good coat of green grass, which re-

While at Wallawalla I saw Ellis, the chief of the Nez Perces. He spoke the English language very well, and I found him to be quite intelligent and well versed in the value and the rights of property. He has a fine farm of thirty acres in good cultivation, a large band of cattle, and upwards of two thousand beautiful horses. Many of the Kiuses have, as Wyeth says, hundreds of these noble animals. They have a great desire to acquire stock, of which they have already a considerable quantity, and yearly go to the Willamette and give two of their finest horses for one cow. In a few years from this time these Indians will have fine farms and large herds of cattle. They have already made great progress in civilization, and evince a strong desire to imitate the whites in everything they do. This is shown in a very remarkable degree, by their fondness for our dress, the meanest portion of which, strange to say, they have the strongest passion for. As I said before, they uniformly charge a *shirt* for every service they perform, and to such an extent do they carry their admiration of this graceful article, that I have seen some of them with nothing else on under heaven besides, but a pair of old boots and a worn out hat, parading up and down for hours with the most conceited strut, as if they were conscious of attracting universal admiration.

Grain grows very well in the vicinity of Mr. Spaulding's, as also do potatoes and garden vegetables generally. It also produces fine corn, but for this the soil requires irrigation. Mr. Spaulding last year raised four hundred and ten bushels upon four acres. The ground was measured in the presence of five gentlemen, and its quantity accurately ascertained. It was sown in drills.

CHAPTER VIII.

Arrival at the Dalles Mission—Continuation of journey down the river—Scenery of the Columbia—The Cascades—Indian tradition—Arrival of Vancouver—The Chief Factor—Mr. Douglass—Conduct of the Hudson's Bay Company to Emigrants—Jumping the rapids—Penalty of braving the Cascades—Stock raising—Condition of the settlement at Vancouver—Prices of goods in the territory.

AFTER we had passed the narrow and dangerous channel of the Dalles, we came out into a smooth and calm surface of river, over which our little craft glided with a quiet rapidity. We now for the first time caught a glance at a seal, occasionally popping his head above the level of the stream and as quickly witdrawing it on our approach, and as we progressed we found their numbers increased. This animal abounds in the Columbia from this point to the sea, and it is also found in considerable quantities in the Willamette, below the falls of that river.

A mile's sail from the frot of the Dalles brought us to the Methodist mission establishment under the charge of Messrs. Perkins and Brewer, which is commonly known as the Dalles Mission.

The mission houses stand on a most commanding and eligible site on the south-west side of the river. When you ascend the bank, the sward runs before you in a gentle and regular i[illegible]mation for about a mile, when it joins a line of hills of moderate altitude, covered with a profusion of pine timber, intermixed with some scattering white oak. Just at the foot of the hill, and on the edge of this timber, stand the mission houses, and between them and the river, are sprinkled numerous Indian huts or lodges, whose rude inmates are the object of the missionaries philanthropic care. Immediately to the south-west, is a fine mill stream, and directly below it a rich bottom prairie, skirted with yellow pines and oak. This plain is about large enough for three fine farms, and can easily be irrigated from the stream I have alluded to. The grazing in the vicinity of this spot extends in a circumference of twenty or thirty miles, and offers facilities at a very trifling expense, for raising great numbers of sheep, horses, and other cattle, and the mast from the white oak will support numerous droves of hogs.

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mains so during summer; and about June it is ripe in the lower plains, and drying without being wet, is made like hay. In this state it remains until the autumn rains again revive it. The herdsman can at all times keep his animals in good grass, by approaching the mountains in summer, on the declivities of which almost any climate may be had."

The Dalles mission is at the head of the practical navigation of the Columbia, and I regard it as one of the most important stations in the whole territory. It is a point which all who go up and down the river must pass, and I have no doubt that in a few years steamboats will be running between it and the Cascades. In addition to the facilities which I have already mentioned, it has a mild and dry climate, about the same as that of Nashville, Tennessee. It is slightly colder than Wallawalla, in consequence of its nearer vicinity to one of the stupendous Titans of the Cascade or President's range, called Mount Washington, about fifty or sixty miles to the southwest. I was at the Dalles on the 23d of November last, and there had up to that time been no visitation of cold weather, nor no fall of rain heavy enough to wet the ground two inches deep. To this place, moreover, from its peculiar situation, and the characteristics of large portions of the adjacent country, both north and south, will all the cattle raised in the second region have to be driven to be slaughtered, and here the inhabitants from above will purchase their general supplies.

The beauty of this situation and the advantages it possessed over any to which I had yet arrived, determined me to leave my folks and effects there for a time, and make a voyage to Vancouver myself, to carry out the provisions of the arrangement I had made with Mr. McKinley, at Wallawalla, in relation to our cattle. I accordingly set out on the 5th of November, and continued my route down the river.

The Columbia, between the Dalles and Cascades, is a calm and clear stream, without a rapid in it, and as safe in its navigation as the Ohio. The current is slow, but there is at all times an ample supply of water. The distance between the two points is thirty-six miles. Immediately after leaving the missionary landing, the river which was about a mile wide, passed for two miles through high walls of perpendicular basaltic rock standing in square columns, sometimes of a foot, and sometimes of two feet in thickness. These rocks, which are the same in character as all that I had seen on the borders of this stream, were perpendicular in their position, except at two points where we found them gently inclining inward towards the river. After we had proceeded some three or four miles from our starting point, the hills gradually ran towards the river's sides. Those on the southern bank are covered with pine and white oak, and those on the northern side bear scarcely anything but scrubby white oak. As we neared the Cascades, the mountains increased greatly in height, and the pines upon their sides grew larger in their size than those on the introductory hills, and became more thickly studded, until the mountains were covered with them. We frequently passed tall walls of rock many hundred feet in height, that raised their castellated sides on the very brink of the river. In fact, the river is so shut in with these natural bastions, both above and below the Cascades, for twenty miles on either side, that within this whole space, there is no bottom lands at all with the exception of a single spot of fertility three miles below, and occasional scollops, stolen from the mountains, bearing in their semicircles nothing but the hut of some Indian fishermen. On our way down, we passed several rafts carrying the adventurous members of our expedition, their families and their baggage, and arrived there ourselves on the seventh.

The Cascades are made by the Columbia forcing its way through the Cascade or President's range of mountains over an immense field of rocks, which at this point strew its bottom and peep above its surface. This point of the river bears no resemblance to the Dalles at all. Instead of being confined between perpendicular walls of basaltic rock, it is lined on either side by the slopes of towering mountains studded with evergreen pine, and birch and oak. Immediately at the Cascades, the mountains run close in to the shore, but, as if satisfied with the experiment at this point, they start away from both sides to the east, and leave several spaces of high, yet tolerably level land. As we approached the Cascades, the roar of the waters fretting in their uneasy course, gave token of its vicinity, and the increasing current of the river lent to our little vessel an additional speed. The growing foam, and gathering obstructions in the shape of rocks in the bed of the stream, at length warned us to the shore, and we were obliged to give our boat again to the Indians on the bank, and make a portage to escape the danger. The water is here very deep, and the bed of the river is filled with huge detached rocks, with intervening patches of white sand. From the compression of its volume in a trough of three or four hundred yards, and its fall of one hundred and fifty feet in the distance of a mile and a half, the current here sets downward with immense force, and renders the passage dangerous in the extreme.

These rocks are generally conical in form, and stand with their small ends up, like gigantic hen's eggs, deposited in the bed of the stream. They are all worn smooth by the continual friction of the current, and many of them are from ten to fifteen feet high above the water level. It is a most beautiful sight, as the water rushes down with resistless impetuosity, raging and foaming at the resistance made by these stubborn opponents in the very centre of its volume, to stand and gaze upon, from the commanding position on the northern bank. In all the whirl and turmoil of this watery Babel, I noticed a seal or two occasionally popping up their heads on the lee side of the rocks, as if to make an occasional inquiry as to the course of matters out of doors. The Indians have a remarkable tradition in relation to these Cascades. They say that about seventy or eighty years ago, they did not exist at all, but that the river ran smoothly on under the side of a projecting mountain, from which an avalanche slid into its bed, and drove it into its present fretful confine. This seems almost incredible, but appearances go strangely to confirm it. The river above the Cascades has all the appearance of being dammed up from below, and for many miles above, you will see stumps of trees in thick squads extending, at some points, more than a hundred yards from the shore along the bottom. These have all the appearance of timber that has been killed by the overflowing of water, as you will sometimes see it in a mill dam. The tops of some of them approach to within a foot or two of the surface, while in many places, others rise above it for ten or fifteen. What is strongly confirmative of their report, is the fact that you can find no such appearances at any other point on the river. It is certainly beyond dispute, that these trees could ever have grown there, and in absence of any other mode of accounting for the phenomenon, we must come to the conclusion that they have been drowned by some great overflow, caused by a convulsion, or a lapse of nature. On the south bank, commencing at the foot of the Cascades, and extending half a mile up the river, and spreading between it and the mountains, is a space of level land, about three hundred yards wide, which is covered with pine, and is elevated, at low water mark, some fifty or sixty feet. Among these pines, scattered over the surface of the ground, you will see numbers of these loose rocks, a portion of which have tumbled into the flood. It is also worthy of remark, that the pines growing here are all young trees, none being more than a foot in diameter.

The portage here is about half a mile, and is made on the north bank going up, and on the south bank coming down. The boats, however, are not taken out of the water and carried around as they are at the Falls, but are drawn along by ropes extending to the bank, and in some places are lifted over the rocks. The Cascades form another great salmon fishery. The Indians have speculated and practically experimented upon the doctrines of internal improvement in application to this object, by making artificial channels by an ingenious arrangement of the loose rock, so as to form a number of natural canals, into which the great body of the fish find their way in passing up the river, when they are taken with great ease.

The Cascades are a very important point of the Oregon territory in a business point of view. All the commerce and travel up the river, are compelled to pass them, and to make this portage. There is fine grazing, fine timber, some good soil, and an incalculable amount of water power in the immediate vicinity. The piece of level land I have already alluded to as lying on the south bank, would form a fine situation for a small town or a farmer's residence. The rapids below the Cascades extend down about three miles or more, and offer almost insurmountable impediments to navigation at low water, especially to boats ascending the stream. It requires, perhaps, a full day's time to pass from the foot of the rapids to the Cascades with a loaded boat. Portions of the loading have to be taken out and carried a few yards, at some two or three different points. In descending the river, the Hudson's Bay Company always pass through them without unloading, and their mode of passage is very descriptively called "jumping the rapids." From the Cascades to Cape Horn, (a perpendicular wall of rock about five hundred feet high, and running along the bank of the river for the space of half a mile on the north side,) is twenty miles; and down to this point the mountains continue to be tall, and to run close to the margin of the stream. On the sides of these, both above and below, there are many beautiful waterfalls. There is one in particular, just above Cape Horn, formed by a considerable mountain stream, whose whole volume falls in one perpendicular pitch of five hundred feet amid the caverns of the rocks.

At Cape Horn, which is midway between the Cascades and Vancouver, (a distance of forty miles,) you can perceive the mountains dwindle rapidly into hills, and what remains of them when you arrive within ten miles of the fort, turn off abruptly from the river on both sides, almost at right angles, and leave, spreading from its banks towards the sea, level, yet high districts of fertile country, many miles wide, covered with an immense body of pine, fir and white cedar timber. On the north bank, this strip of country runs some distance below Vancouver, and on the south it stretches to the Willamette. The Willamette is a fine river entering the Columbia five miles below Fort Vancouver, and running nearly in a south easterly direction from the parent stream. This course, aided by a slight southern inclination of the great river, immediately after receiving it, forms a triangle, the point of which is formed at the junction, and the base of which extends about five or six miles up the banks of both rivers until it reaches an equilateral breadth. This is low bottom prairie covered with scattering ash and cotton wood. It is overflown every summer, and forms an exception to the high but level land, which I mentioned as stretching along the shore for twenty or thirty miles above. On the north side of the Columbia, in this lower region, the soil is rich, but gravelly; on the south side it is richer still, and is spread upon a substratum of yellow clay.

On the tenth of November, I arrived at Vancouver and could scarcely believe my eyes, when on approaching it, I beheld moored securely in the river, two square rigged vessels and a steamboat. My very heart jumped as I set eyes on these familiar objects, and for the first time in four months, I felt as if I had found a substantial evidence of civilization. The impressions of the refinements of the mission, and the peculiarly domestic comforts which the excellent ladies attached to the establishments spread around them, were as nothing compared with the yards and masts of these coursers of the ocean.

The river at Fort Vancouver is from 1600 to 1700 yards wide. The Fort, which is the principal establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon, is on the north bank of the Columbia, 90 miles' distance in a direct line from the sea. It stands a considerable distance back from the shore, and is surrounded by a large number of wooden buildings, (among which is a school-house,) used for the various purposes of residences and workshops for those attached to the establishment. This colony is enclosed by a barrier of pickets twenty feet in height. On the bank of the river, six hundred yards farther down, is a village somewhat larger in extent, (containing an hospital,) which is allotted to the inferior servants of the station. Two miles further down the river, are the dairy and piggery, containing numerous herds of cattle, hogs, sheep, &c., and about three miles above the fort, are grist and saw mills, and sheds for curing salmon. Immediately behind it, is a garden of five acres, and an orchard filled with peach, apple, fig, orange, lemon, and other fruit trees, and containing also grapes, strawberries and ornamental plants and flowers. Behind this, the cultivated farm, with its numerous barns and other necessary buildings, spreads off towards the south. The land appropriated here for the purposes of farming, is from 3000 to 4000 acres, and is fenced into beautiful fields, a great portion of which has already been appropriated to cultivation, and is found to produce the grains and vegetables of the States, in remarkable profusion. To cultivate these immense farms, and attend to the duties arising from the care of flocks, the drudgery of the workshops, the heavy labor attendant upon hewing timber for the saw mills, the British residents do not hesitate to press into their service the neighboring Iroquois, and even to avail themselves of human transplants from the Sandwich Islands; many of the natives of which are already here working in gangs for the benefit, and at the direction of this shrewd and able company.

On my arrival I was received with great kindness by Doctor McLaughlin and Mr. James Douglass, the second in command. They both tendered me the hospitalities of the fort, which offer, it is scarcely necessary to say, I accepted willingly and with pleasure. Dr. McLaughlin is the Governor or Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, a situation most difficult and arduous in its duties, and requiring most consummate ability in the person aspiring to fill it. The Hudson's Bay Company have been most fortunate in their selection of Doctor McLaughlin for this important trust. Possessed of a commanding person, a refined, benevolent and amiable manner; owning extensive acquirements drawn from study, travel and intercourse with mankind; a profound knowledge of human nature, and withal a firmness that ensures obedience and respect, he is peculiarly qualified to protect the important interests of this powerful company, and to control its wayward servants, while thus far removed from the reach of other civil authority. Doctor McLaughlin is upwards of six feet high, and over sixty years of age. In person he is robust, erect, and a little inclined to corpulency, one of the natural results of contentment and repose. The clear flush of rosy health glows upon his cheeks, his eye still sparkles with youthful vivacity while he is in conversation with you, and his fine head of snow white hair, adds not a little to the impressiveness of his appearance. His hospitality is unbounded, and, I will sum up all his qualities, by saying that he is beloved by all who know him.

Mr. Douglass is also upwards of six feet, and about forty five years of age; he is likewise inclined to be corpulent, and his hair is also gently receiving its sifting from the salt of Time. He is like his superior, a man of accomplished manners and great business habits. He came to America in his boyhood, entered the service of the H. B. Company, immediately on his arrival, and has remained in it ever since.

The *modus operandi* of this wonderful corporation is remarkable for the perfect accuracy of its system. A code of established rules, embracing within its scope, the chief Factor and the meanest servant, is the inflexible rule which governs all. Every man has his allotted department to fill, and his regular tasks to do, and he is held responsible for the faithful performance of that and nothing more. A system of far sighted policy is brought to bear upon the management of every department, whether it be the trapping of a territory, the transplanting of natives, the reinforcement and supply of any of their numerous forts, the occupation of a point, or the assumption of a privilege.[*] A regular price is set upon every thing, and it is labor thrown away to attempt to underbid it. Their goods are all of a most superior kind, and it is no less a rule to sell them at reasonable rates, than it is to have them good. Vancouver is the grand depot of all the other forts of Oregon, and it is likewise the grand magazine of their supplies. The vessels that bring the comforts of other climes in at the mouth of the Columbia, here unload their freight, and the fertile valley of the river yields up its abundant stores at the slightest summons of their wants.

Their mode of transportation, and the carriage of their goods from place to place, is peculiar, and worthy of mention. They pack all their goods in uniform lots, of one hundred pounds each, and their boats being all of one size and form, are consequently all loaded alike. When they make portages, in ascending or descending the stream, an established rule, which on no account must be departed from, directs the number of packages to be taken out to lighten the craft, and this direction varies according to the navigation of the place. This regulation ensures the safety of every expedition, and prevents many losses and dangers that would otherwise arise out of the indiscretion and daring of the boatmen. A few years ago, a party of eight of the company's servants were descending the river in a boat, and when they came in contact with the Cascades, and were about landing to make the portage, according to custom, one of the party proposed, as they were anxious to arrive at home, that they should run through them. The proposal, though startling at first, was gradually assented to by all of the party but one. This was an old pilot, who had been in the Company's service for a number of years, and who was well acquainted with all the dangers of the passage. He held out stubbornly against their united wishes, until accused of cowardice, when he relinquished his opposition, and partly to vindicate himself from the charge, and partly out of spite to their reckless folly, determined to give them a chance of proving his correctness by actual experiment. The boat passed safely down for some two or three hundred yards, when multiplying dangers whirled and foamed on every side, and the increasing ones that roared and broke ahead, struck them suddenly with a panic, and for a moment they ceased to pull their oars. The pause was fatal. The edge of a whirlpool caught the tail of the boat, swung her broadside to the stream with sudden velocity, and rushing it in this helpless condition among the most fearful rapids, it was suddenly overwhelmed by the lashing waves, and all on board perished, save the old man who had opposed the experiment, and one other hand. The pilot seized on an oar, and was picked up with it firmly enclosed in his senseless grasp, at a spot four miles below the scene of the disaster. The other man, by an equally strange caprice of the current, was cast insensible upon the bank immediately below the Cascades.

Whatever may be the cause of complaint existing against the Hudson's Bay Company, in their treatment of former emigrants from the United States, the kindness of Dr. McLaughlin to this emigration has been very great. He furnished them with goods and provisions on credit, and such as were sick were sent to the Hospital free of expense, where they had the strict and careful attendance of Dr. Barclay, a skilful physician, and an excellent and humane man. The Chief Factor likewise lent the emigrants the Company's boats, to bring down such of the families and baggage as had been left at the Cascades by the advanced guard of the expedition, which had preceded me; and he also furnished them with the same facilities for crossing the river with their cattle, at Vancouver. Had it not been for the kindness of this excellent man, many of us would have suffered greatly, and I have no doubt, that much injustice has been done him, by confounding his personal conduct with that of many of his countrymen. The policy of the Company toward the Indians, has, it is true, been very seriously condemned, as will be seen by Mr. Spaulding's communication, embraced in Mr. Pendleton's report, but it is very questionable, whether Dr. McLaughlin is justly chargeable with all the evils that have arisen out of it. It is certainly true, that he has been in some measure the victim of misrepresentation; for I know of my own knowledge, that the Indians of Southern Oregon, and those tribes bordering on the Californian line, instead of being inoffensive and well-disposed, as described by Mr. Spaulding, are on the contrary hostile, thievish, and treacherous. This is something towards a general refutation. It is certain that the Doctor himself has uniformly aided settlers, by supplying them with farming implements, and with seed grain, as a loan, to be returned out of the succeeding crop. He has even went so far as to lend them hogs, to be returned two or three years afterward, by their issue of the same age; to furnish oxen to break their ground, and cows to supply milk to their families. This certainly appears to me to be a very poor way to retard the settlement of the region, and to discourage adventurers who arrive in it.

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[*] A long description of the different trading posts belonging to the H. B. Co., has been left out, in consequence of the previous supply of that information in the demonstration of title and in the Geographical sketch.

A great deal has been said against him because he has refused to sell the cattle belonging to the Company, but those who have made these complaints, have certainly reflected very little upon the subject, and are incapable of measuring the enlarged scope of the Doctor's policy. The supply of the cattle and sheep of the settlements was very limited, and the great object has been to increase it. This could only be carried out by secure measures for their protection; and it would have been absurd, indeed, while the authorities of the Fort were denying themselves the luxury of beef or mutton, to carry out this important object, if they should have sold cattle to those whose caprice might destroy them at pleasure. Besides, all the cattle, with the exception of a very few, were inferior Spanish animals, and it was a matter of necessity to improve the stock, by crossing them with those of the English breed. The same case existed with regard to the sheep, which were from California, but which, by repeated crossings, have at length not only been greatly increased, but but have been improved nearly to the condition of full bloods.

The science of stock raising, the rough mountain men who were the first settlers from the States, did not understand. They could only understand that brutes were made to kill, and hence the dissatisfaction, and consequent complaint. Having improved his stock, and accomplished a proper degree of increase, the Doctor was ready enough to sell on reasonable terms, though, to say the truth, he did not find a very ready market. The business of sheep raising on a small scale is scarcely worth attention. The wolves are sure to kill the animals, unless they are continually attended by a shepherd, and carefully folded at night; and besides, woollen goods can be had here so cheap, that their fleece hardly pays for the care required to raise it, and the raising of horned cattle, and wheat, is much more profitable. So far as its own individual interests are concerned, (without regard to the claim to sovereignty from exclusive occupation,) it is not the interest of the Hudson's Bay Company any longer to retard the settlement of this country. The beaver have nearly been exhausted from the region; the Indians are year by year rapidly passing away, and even those that remain, can bring nothing to the Company in the way of trade. By settlement from the States, the Company, who monopolize the commerce and manufactures of the place, obtain white men for customers, the trade of one of whom is worth that of forty Indians, who have nothing to sell.

The prices of groceries and clothing at Vancouver, are, upon a general average, the same as in the States, some that cost more, being balanced by those that come at less. Loaf sugar of the first quality, is worth 20 cents per lb.; coffee, 25 cents; brown sugar, 12½ cents. Tea is better and cheaper than in the States, the road to China being so much shorter than from the Atlantic coast, and lying as it were right opposite the door of the Columbia river. Woollen goods and ready-made clothing being introduced here without duty as it is considered an English port, are greatly cheaper than with us. A very good strong quality of blue broadcloth six quarters wide can be had for one dollar and twenty-five cents per yard. A very neat cloth roundabout, comes at $4,37½; pantaloons at five dollars; heavy, well-made cotton shirts are worth 83 cents; Mackinaw blankets of superior quality, $3,50 each. All articles of cutlery are also cheap from the same reason as the above. Calicoes and brown cottons are about the same as in the States. Iron is about 10 cents a pound; gunpowder 25 cents; lead 12½ cents, and shot the same.

Boots and shoes are yet very high, and crockery of all descriptions is also dear. Chains, tools, and farming implements, are very reasonable; the best Cary ploughs can be had to order from an excellent blacksmith at the place at 31¼ cents per pound. Wheat is worth one dollar a bushel; potatoes, 40 cents; fresh pork 10 cents, pickled 12½; fresh beef, 6 cents per pound. American cows bring from $50 to $75, and Spanish from $20 to $40; oxen from $75 to $125, per yoke; American horses from $50 to 75 dollars each. There is an abundance of poultry in the country, and there are also a plentiful supply of the two classes of domestic animals known by the familiar appellations of cats and dogs, but still I would advise emigrants to bring dogs with them that are of a good breed, as in a country where so much game abounds, and where there are herds to watch, they are calculated to be very useful.

All the goods sold at Vancouver are of the most superior quality, and the purchaser in this region of general honesty and enterprise, receives them at twelve months credit; so thus the greatest obstacle to the poor emigrant after his arrival here, vanishes at once. This is a country of peace and good will; every new comer is received as a brother; the poor man's wealth lies in his arms, and the industry and enterprise which brought him here to claim by his labor heaven's first gifts in the riches of the soil, is accepted as the substantial and sufficient guarantee of his good faith.

The utmost liberality characterizes all the dealings with the stranger and even with the resident. If your fortunes have been adverse, and you are not able to pay for last year's dealing, you are required to give your note, drawing interest at five per cent. Instances have come to my knowledge since my arrival, in which Dr. McLaughlin has extended the credit of some of his customers for two or three years together. He has supplied most of the members of last year's emigration with such articles as they needed, taking in payment only the pledge of their honest faces and hard hands.*

CHAPTER IX.

The Chief Factor's probity—Departure from Vancouver—Wappato Island—Game—The Willamette—Linntan—Fallatry Plains—The Klackamus—The Falls—Fallatry River—Thomas McKay—Yam Hill River—Multonomah—McFarley and Dumberton—Their new positions—The half breeds.

I HAVE stated before that the special object of my journey to Vancouver was to consummate the arrangement I had made with Mr. McKinley of Fort Wallawalla, in regard to the exchange of our cattle. On the morning after my arrival, I therefore opened my business to the Doctor, and presented him with the aforesaid gentleman's order. The old gentleman at once gave evident signs of displeasure. He saw in a moment that Mr. McKinley had taken advantage of our ignorance to drive a sharp bargain, and gave an immediate and decided dissent to the whole proceeding.

"Are you aware," said he to me, "that our Spanish cattle are much inferior to yours?"

I told him I thought they were from the specimens I had seen at his place.

"And you have learned," continued he, "that cattle may be safely driven from Wallawalla to this post?"

I admitted that the success of our emigrants in bringing through their stock, had convinced me of that fact.

"Mr. McKinley has done very wrong," said he, shaking his head, "very wrong indeed! Your cattle are superior to those I should be obliged to give you, and you would be much the losers by the arrangement. I will not consent to profit by your reliance on our good faith. I will write to Mr. McKinley to take good care of your animals, and to deliver them to you whenever you have settled upon your final residence. If you should decide upon settling near us, we shall have the advantage of improving the breeds by them. But come, Mr. ——, leave this matter to me;

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* There is nothing wonderful in all this. The Doctor could do business in no other way with the class of customers he seeks, and as for the taking of the note at the end of the year, when the misfortunes of his creditor have left nothing else to take, it is a measure strictly protective of himself, and has nothing of generosity in it. The Doctor is doubtless a very excellent man, but the above circumstances only prove him to be a very good merchant.

let us drop business for the present, and take a turn down towards the river; I wish to give some directions to an expedition to Fort George, and then I wish to show you a splendid stallion which I bought from an Indian this morning."

It may be supposed by some, that Dr. McLaughlin, under the idea that I was one of the leaders of our formidable expedition, was practising upon me a piece of most adroit finesse, to enlist my favor at the outset, but, as I have had much the best opportunity to judge, I shall not hesitate to decide in favor of his entire sincerity.

That I may not overlook it, I will take this opportunity to state that when I was at Vancouver, the cattle of our emigration which had been driven clear through to the Willamette, were improving rapidly, and many of the oxen were already so far recruited as to be able to be worked daily in the plough.

Having concluded my business at Vancouver, and after having spent three very pleasant days in the hospitable society of the place, I determined to proceed on to the Willamette to make a selection of my final location.

Five miles sail down the Columbia brings you to the eastern mouth of the Willamette. The first object that strikes you immediately upon your entrance is Saury's Island, or as it is sometimes called, Willamette or Wappato Island. This is a long tract of low land about twenty miles in length, and about five in width. It lies directly in the mouth of the river, and thus splitting the stream, causes it to disembogue by two outlets into the Columbia at a distance of fifteen miles from each other. Its surface is mostly a low bottom prairie which overflows every summer, and it is intersected in every direction with small shallow lakes in which grows a species of Indian potatoe called "Wappato," similar in flavor to the Irish potatoe, and being a most excellent and nutritious description of food. There are, however, several spots of fir timber on it, on high ground above high water, and also a large amount of cotton wood, white oak and ash timber in several portions of it. There are immense numbers of wild hogs upon the island, the issue of some placed there several years ago by the Hudson's Bay Company, which find a plentiful subsistence in the Wappato root, and on the mast of the oak. On the lakes, marshes and rivers of this place, may be found innumerable swarms of wild fowl, consisting of ducks, geese and swans. These the Indians kill in great numbers and sell to the whites at extremely low rates, the former being charged at four, the second six, and the latter at ten loads of powder and shot each. A family could easily be supported here on wild fowl alone. After you pass up the river for two miles, you come to the Willamette slough where the stream divides itself; the smaller portion turning to the left and running down in that direction along the island till it reaches the Columbia 15 miles south of the northern mouth. From the slough starts a ridge of lofty mountains about fifteen hundred feet in height, running parallel with the bank of the river up along its course. These are covered with immense forests of fir, white cedar, hemlock, cherry, maple, and some other kinds of trees, but the fir and cedar constitute nine tenths of the whole body of the timber. The space between this ridge and the river is low bottom land, which overflows in some years, except at a point five miles from the river's mouth that has since been laid out by General M'Carver and myself under the name of Linntan. This stands upon a high piece of level land about five feet above the level of the stream, and from its being the nearest eligible site for a settlement on the Willamette, it appeared to us to offer superior advantages for a town. As I may be supposed, from the fact I have above stated, to be interested in this point, I will pass it without further remark. When you reach Linntan you have as yet seen no fine farming or grazing country, except that which is covered with immense bodies of timber requiring too vast a labor to remove. From Linntan, there is a good road passing over the ridge of mountains I have mentioned, and leading out ten miles to the famous Fallatry Plains. As you approach within five miles of this region of exhuberant fertility, the timber, which is mixed fir and cedar, becomes more scattering, and the country gradually more open. These plains, as they are called, consist of a succession of small prairies about three miles long, and two broad, seperated from each other by small groves of timber, and stretching west from Linntan, until they connect with the Yam Hill country, which I shall hereafter describe. These beautiful plains are almost encircled by a ridge of verdant mountains, in the form of a horse shoe; its convex sweeping towards the Willamette and the open end running into the Yam Hill valley. This ridge of mountains is in many places heavily timbered, and in others the timber is very scattering, the surface of the mountain being covered instead, with fine grass, constituting an inexhaustible range. How far apart this horse shoe is at the base, I cannot with exactness tell, but I suppose it, from a cursory observation, to be from twenty to thirty miles, and enclosing in its boundaries land enough for two fine countries. These plains are gently underlating smooth prairies, with a black fertile soil upon a clay foundation. The fir timber comes immediately up to the prairie, so that in five steps you can be out of the open field, in whose velvet smoothness not even a twig can be seen, into the dark green recesses of an everlasting forest of the tallest, straightest timber, studded in the thickest and most formidable array. I should think there was rail timber enough upon ten of these acres to fence five hundred.

There are no deep branches running through these plains, but the water runs off in little vallies about ten yards wide, and where these vallies reach the forest, they are covered with black ash and white oak timber. There is also at various places around these prairies fine bodies of white oak timber. Take them altogether, I have never in my life seen prairies more beautiful than these are, or that were situated more advantageously for cultivation. The first settlements in this voluptuous region were made about three years ago, and they now extend to about fifteen miles into their bosom, and already embrace many fine farms, some containing as much as a hundred and fifty acres in fine cultivation. Were I possessed of a poet's imagination I might describe in spontaneous song the superlative loveliness of this delightful scene as viewed from the slope of one of the encircling hills, but not being gifted with the poet's frenzy, I must leave the features of this delightful region to the imagination of the reader.

The Willamette river is navigable for ships for five miles above Linntan, but after passing up that distance, you come to a bar which forbids the further passage of vessels of any draught. Small vessels and steamboats, however, can ascend to within a short distance of the Falls. Three miles below the Falls, you come to the mouth of a stream called the Klackamus, which enters the river from the east. It rises in the President's range, and in its course of thirty miles, collects a considerable body of water, which it contributes to the main stream. Its current is rapid and broken, and not navigable to any available degree, and its tide sets with so strong a force into the Wallamette, as to offer a serious impediment to boats stretching across its mouth.

As we neared the Falls, the water was shallow and fretted by the irregular surface of the bottom, and we were obliged on coming up to it to make a portage beyond. At the place of our debarkation, on the eastern bank, rose a perpendicular wall of rock, stretching some distance down the river. Through this, however, you find an easy avenue, but recently cut, to the high land above, which as soon as you ascend you find yourself amid the forests and the prairies of the upper plains.

After rising above the Falls, we came in view of Oregon City, the town of secondary importance in the territory. Here is situated, at the present time, from eighty to an hundred families, with stores, mills, workshops, factories, and all the concomitants of thriving civilization. They have likewise an independent government of their own, and as far as things have progressed, every thing has gone well. Great improvements are meditated at this place, and Dr. M'Laughlin, who is the owner of the first establishment you meet in rising from the lower bed of the river, meditates the project of cutting a canal around the Falls for the purpose of the more easy transportation of the harvests and manufactures of the upper settlements of the Columbia.*

The Falls presented a beautiful sight as they rushed in alternate sheet and foam, over an abrupt wall of dark rock stretching obliquely across the stream, and the hoarse uproar of the waters as they tumbled into the bed of the river below, lent an additional solemnity to the imposing grandeur of the scenery around.

The river's edge, for several miles above them, is bordered by a row of mountains, shutting out the surrounding prospect by their continually intervening bulks, from us who sailed upon the silvery bottom of the immense green trough between. There was nothing forbidding in their aspects however, for their sides were covered with umbrageous forests of thickly studded timber of the most magnificent description. About fifteen miles above the falls, these hills, by a gradual modification of their altitude, roll into verdant undulations, spreading at last into level grassy plains, and alternating with flourishing clumps of timber land. At this point, we came upon McKay's settlement, which is situated on the eastern bank, and presents all the evidences of a flourishing little town. Thomas McKay, its founder, is a native of this region in the fullest sense of the word, being the joint descendant of one of the early fur traders belonging to the Pacific Company, and a Chippeway squaw. The son, following the fortunes of his father, grew up in the service of the North West Association, and transferred himself, at the time of its dissolution, into that of the Hudson's Bay. Having at length acquired a competence, he retired from their arduous service, and established himself in his present location. He may now be said to be the most wealthy man in the valley of the Willamette, having an extensive and well stocked farm, and being the owner of a grist mill of superior construction, which must have cost him several thousand dollars to erect. He is a fine specimen of the two races, and combines the energy and perseverance of the one, with the strong passions and determined will of the other. His life has been one scene of wild adventure, and in the numerous conflicts of the early trappers with the savage tribes, he was always foremost in the fight, and the most remarkable in his display of daring bravery and enduring courage. Many a red man has fallen in conflict beneath his rifle, and the warlike bands that have gradually moved away, or been subdued into obedience, well recollect the terrible prowess of their dreaded cousin.

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* We have already seen that this project is in course of consummation.

Between this town and the mission establishment above, (a distance of forty miles,) farms are sprinkled all along, and at twelve miles above McKay's, we meet another flourishing village, called Jarvie's settlement, containing between thirty and forty families, which are about divided as to national distinction. It was originally a mere collection of retired Hudson's Bay servants, but the gradual accession of American settlers, has thus changed its complexion. This is a significant circumstance, and clearly indicates that it is our destiny to first alter and then reverse the political balance of every settlement in Oregon.

In my progress up the river I omitted to mention the fact that at a short distance above the falls, we come to the mouth of another small tributary on the west, called the Fallatry river. It takes its rise in the northern portion of the range of mountains which I have described as encircling the Fallatry plains, and in its course through them, pursues a southeasterly direction until it empties into the Willamette.

The next stream entering the Willamette on its western bank, is the Yam Hill river. This tributary rises in a west, or south west direction from the point of its junction with the Willamette, in the range of low mountains that run along the edge of the coast. It starts from its source in a northwest direction, and receives a number of smaller tributaries in the shape of creeks. The valley of this stream is a very fine country, consisting of prairie, spotted with groves, and oak timber growing upon the same rich vegetable soil that is spread upon its plains. It extends to the bases of the mountains in which the Yam Hill takes its rise, and from its westernmost limit the roar of the adjacent ocean can be heard. The route to California passes some distance along the line of this valley, and a most excellent road can be had leading from it, through the Fallatry plains, to Linntan.

The country all along the eastern bank of the Willamette, above McKay's settlement, is as good as the Yam Hill country, or the Fallatry Plains, and is much the same, both in regard to its natural productions, and its soil. There are fine facilities for intercommunication with its different points; the line of travel is level and easy, and it has in consequence, secured throughout its course, a row of settlements which in a few years will extend into a continuous chain.

After you leave Jarvie's settlement, you proceed up the river for about thirty miles, when you come to the principal town of Oregon. This is situated on the eastern bank of the Willamette, and is ninety-four miles from the Columbia river. It was first formed in 1834, by a party of American missionaries under the direction of Messrs. Lee, Shepherd, and others, and its vicinity had, even previous to that period, been selected by several retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. It has, ever since the above period, been the seat of the Methodist Episcopal mission, and has now become the head quarters of the operations of the district. Passing the period of my first visit to it, I will take this opportunity to state that there are at the present moment, (March, 1844,) at this place over two hundred families, and that there are in the whole valley of the Willamette, more than a thousand citizens of the United States. A church, a hospital, an academy, mills, workshops, comfortable dwellings, a herd of five thousand head of cattle, and all the accompaniments of civilization and refinement are to be found here, and any man who can be content to live beyond the limits of a densely populated city, can find at this place all the comforts and enjoyments which a rational being, uncorrupted by false appetites, can crave.

Already a court-house has been erected, and a military organization formed, the object of which is, protection against any formidable attack from the border Indians, or a means of resistance to any attempted aggression on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company. It is, however, proper for me to say that there is not the slightest dread of either of these circumstances, as no hostile demonstration has been made, for several years, upon any of the white settlers in this region, and we have received evidence upon evidence, that the authorities of Vancouver are willing that we shall take the burden of civil and criminal jurisdiction from their shoulders, so far as regards the government of ourselves. It is, doubtless, their wisest policy. An American from the States grows up with the notion that he has a right to help govern himself, and he submits with a very bad grace to any exercise of sovereignty on the part of an Englishman. Indeed, he will not submit to it at all, and I have no kind of doubt that had the Hudson's Bay Company been unwise enough to truckle to the policy of their national government, and to insist, in despite of their own interests, on exercising legal control over us, the peaceful valleys of this region would, ere now, have been dyed with human blood.

McFarley and Dumberton, both appear to appreciate the value of the field that is here thrown open to their ambition, and already these aspiring spirits have adopted a system of harrangueing "The People," with a view of effecting new political arrangements. Each evidently thinks Nature intended him for a legislator, and constantly endeavors to lend Destiny some aid in the immense up hill nature of her task. As might be supposed, in a rivalry of this kind, the opponents represent opposite sets of principles and opinions. McFarley being a red hot, ultra radical, and Dumberton, representing the cold and calculating conservative. Each have managed already to secure a clique, and while McFarley is regarded by his faction, as ;" a thunder-an-lightnin-smart-feller ;" Dumberton is revered by his "following" as " a *tremendyers* man." I am inclined to think McFarley will get the best of the struggle, if there is to be any best about it, for he advocates extending the elective franchise to the Indians, with whom he has already secured an extensive interest and admiration, by his expertness with the rifle and in spearing fish; while Dumberton confines himself to profound and ponderous speculations on the more abstruse propositions of political economy.

Whether Messrs. McFarley or Dumberton will have anything to do with it or not, I have no doubt, that the civil and criminal government of the little colonies of this territory will shortly be perfectly organised; and in a manner too that will render us entirely independent of the jurisdiction or assistance of the United States; in which case, inasmuch as she has neglected this region so long, she must look out, say some of the old settlers, that she does not lose it altogether.

There are a large number of Indians about this settlement and valley, who are under the care of the missionaries, and who perform much of the servile labor of the mission establishment. Indeed they are employed the same way by these religious establishments, throughout the territory, as they are by the Hudson's Bay Company; so if there is anything which smacks of slavery in the one case, it necessarily follows in the other.

There is another, and pretty numerous branch of population growing up here, which cannot be passed without notice. This is the class of half breeds, the issue of the Indian women, who are either married to, or fall otherwise in the hands of the careless trapper, or the indifferent woodsman. As there is a great scarcity of white women in the territory, this state of things naturally results, and the consequence will be, that the half breeds, during the next five or six years, will form by far the most numerous native born of the population. Some of these are fine specimens of the two races, and if the cross turns out many such men as McKay, there will be no reason to regret this perversion of fancy, or rather this push of necessity on the part of their male progenitors.

At a short distance above Multenmah, a stream called the Santa Ann I believe, enters the Willamette from the east, along the banks of which there is a vast body of fine country. It takes its rise in the portion of the President's range in the vicinity of Mount Jefferson.

The portion of the Willamette valley lying between the Cascade ridge and the range of low mountains next the ocean, is from fifty to one hundred miles wide, and about two hundred and fifty, to three hundred feet long. It consists of rich prairie land and timber, and let who will say to the contrary, is one of the finest pieces of farming land to be found in any country. There is very little difference in the several portions of this valley, with the exception of the circumstance, that the timber is larger and a little more abundant in some places than in others, and now and then the prairies vary to some extent in size. This section constitutes the great body of the prime farming and grazing section of the lower region of Oregon, though there are other beautiful portions in the valleys of the Tootootutna, the Umpqua and the Klamet farther south.

CHAPTER X.

Passage down the Columbia—Astoria—The mouth of the Columbia—Lawyers in Oregon—Law suit—Agitation of the community—Luminous view of the gentlemen from Big Pigeon—The philosophy of soul saving and mode of converting savages in Oregon—How to raise wheat—Facilities for farming purposes—General view of the valley of the Willamette.

To reach the Willamette, I had proceeded down the Columbia to the eastern mouth of the former river at Wappato Island; and for the purpose of completing the route to Astoria, I will now take the river up at that point again and trace it to the ocean. Passing along Wappato for fifteen miles, you come to the western mouth of the Willamette. The island at this point is high and has a bold rocky shore, right up to which, the water is of sufficient depth to allow a large class vessel to lie up and unload, an important advantage in case the point should ever be selected for commercial purposes. On the southern bank of the river immediately below the lower mouth of the Willamette, is a situation which would afford a fine site for a settlement or a town. It is true it is covered with fine heavy timber, but it rises gently from the river, and through the forests in the rear, a natural gap may be seen, which offers facilities for an avenue directly to the riches of the Fallatry plains behind The Hudson's Bay Company perceiving the advantage of the situation, have already built a house there and have established one of their servants in it. They have many houses thus spotted about on eligible sites, the whole object of which in many cases must merely be the eventual assumption of a prior right, by pre-occupation, in case others should wish to settle in the same place.

As you pass down the Columbia, you find no plains along the river, but it is still bordered with its row of mountains running along the banks on either side, and bearing upon their sides the everlasting groves of timber. A few miles below Wappato Island, on the other side of the river, you strike the mouth of the Cowelitz river, in the valley of which I am told some very good land is to be found, though most of the soil on the north bank of the Columbia is poor, and is unfit for the production of wheat or the esculent grains, except sparsely and in spots. This feature increases as you proceed northward, and the land in the vicinity of Nisqually, on Puget's Sound, is incapable, as I am told, of ordinary production.[*]

Below the Cowelitz river, the Columbia begins to widen, and at the distance of ten miles from the sea, it spreads to a width of several miles, forming by its singular extension at this part, the portion which British navigators have called Gray's bay, for the purpose of making the world believe that Captain Gray did not discover the Columbia, but only entered *the bay into which it disembogues, to the distance of twenty or thirty miles.*

Astoria, or Fort George as it is now called by the company who have it in possession, is situated on the south bank of the river, about ten miles from the ocean. It stands on a hill side, and consists only of a few acres which have been redeemed by industrious clearing from the immense forests running behind it. Some of these trees are of the most enormous size, and the soil can only be got at with immense labor in the way of clearing. Until our arrival, it consisted only of three or four log houses in a rather dilapidated condition, but now it is revived by its old name of Astoria, by Captain Applegate and others, who have laid off a town there, and divided it into lots. It will hardly answer the expectations of those who go to it. The ground is rendered too wet for cultivation, by numerous springs that run through it in every direction, and the ocean air is sure to blast the wheat before it can ripen. Garden vegetables, however, grow there finely. Beyond Astoria, and nearer to the ocean, you find a small prairie about two miles long by three wide. It has been formed, it is said, by the ocean, and its soil is represented to be a rich black sandy deposit, varying from eight to fifteen inches deep, when it comes to a foundation of pure sand.

The mouth of the Columbia is the only harbor for ships upon the whole Pacific coast of Oregon. Its channel is very difficult, being tortuous in its course, and perplexed by sand bars, and on account of the violence of its breakers, caused by the sudden confluence of the river's descending volume and the ocean tides, it is extremely dangerous for more than two-thirds of the year to attempt to enter it.

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[*] This is at variance with the account of Lieutenant Wilkes, who represents the Nisqually establishment as a very good one, and as furnishing, by its productiveness, supplies to other stations and to the Russians.

Once in, however, and there is good anchorage and safe navigation. The whole coast, in fact, is perilous to approach, and a north-east wind by giving navigators a lee shore of black overhanging rocks, heightens their danger not a little. The only place of refuge for vessels south of the Columbia on the Oregon coast, is the mouth of the Umpqua, a river entering the Pacific in 42° 51', where vessels drawing eight feet of water may securely enter. A similar harbor may be found between forty and fifty miles to the north, called Gray's Harbor, which also affords like security for vessels of the same draught.

Having now completed the account of the line of route from the state of Missouri to the mouth of the Columbia, I will now return to the valley of the Willamette as the point of the greatest interest, and after a few more remarks concerning it, will turn my attention to some of the general features of the territory.

As I said before, ships ascend the Columbia to the lower mouth of the Willamette at Wappato island, (and as high as the Cascades, in a direct onward course if they please,) and turning into the river, sail five miles up it to Linntan, and beyond that, five miles more. There, a bar forbids the further progress of any but small vessels which may proceed onward to within seven or eight miles of the falls, and boats may go nearly up to it Above the falls, the river is navigable for steamboats for over fifty miles.

Before passing Oregon city, I will take this opportunity to mention a circumstance in relation to it, which is not a little amusing in its character, as well as significant of the progress of civilization and social refinement in this primeval wilderness. It appears that Doctor McLaughlin, and some of the missionaries of the settlement above, are rival claimants to a portion of it, and one of the reverend gentlemen connected with the mission, has given way to his litigious feelings and employed a Mr. Ricard, a lawyer, (we have lawyers here too you see,) to institute a suit against the doctor for the site in dispute, in the United States courts, with the hope of compelling an ejection of the trespasser. Mr. Ricard has commenced proceedings, by putting up a very large hand bill, giving an abstract of the title of the mission, and notifying the doctor and all other persons to quit the premises—warning those, moreover, who have not as yet encroached, by no means to do so, without obtaining special leave from the owners aforesaid. I know very little about the merits of this dispute, but I do know that this is the fruitful source of one-half the debates of the settlements. It takes the place of foreign and domestic news of other portions of the world, and wonderful are the speculations that are projected on its score. It may be readily supposed that such a circumstance as this, has not been overlooked by McFarley and Dumberton; on the contrary, both snapped at it with the avidity of hungry tigers. McFarley is very strenuous in favor of the claims of his own countrymen, and has made out a deduction in their favor, which is based, I believe, on the treaty of Utrecht, or some other equally satisfactory basis. He is very decided in his intention of sustaining them with his personal influence and talents, and has solemnly pledged himself even to the extent of fighting it out with the rifle. Dumberton, on the other hand, though equally decided in favor of the mission claimants, avers that he cannot but regard the circumstance of this dispute with the highest degree of satisfaction. "An opportunity is now furnished us," says he, "through this insignificant controversy, to settle the title of the whole country, and to expel the govermental trespassers from every point and portion of its dominions." "This," he adds, "will bring war between the United States and Great Britain; Ireland will revolt; Canada will secede; the monarchs of the Indies will throw off their slavish yoke; Russia unrestrained will snap up Turkey as a famished mastiff would deal with a fresh kidney, and, in short, the whole world would be revolutionized, and the balances of power altered by the controversy in relation to this scrip of land." This opinion, backed as it is by the weight of Dumberton's enormous reputation for profound sagacity, has created no slight sensation in our little world. I believe Doctor McLaughlin has been made acquainted with these views of the gentleman from Big Pigeon, but whether their forcefulness created any serious alarm in his mind, or whatever other effect they have been attended with, I have not been able to ascertain.

So far as the philanthropic objects of the mission are concerned, I do not see that they can derive any direct or indirect benefit from the possession of the place they strive for; though I, for one, am decidedly in favor of their relinquishing no right of settlement they have acquired in any portion of the territory; but I here feel bound to say, as a portion of my general remarks upon this territory, that all the Missionaries whom I have seen within it, have succeeded much better in making farms, raising stock, erecting mills, establishing stores, and improving their own worldly condition, than they have been in saving the souls of the Indians. I have, however, no right to criticise and condemn the peculiar system of these gentlemen, for they should certainly know more about the redemption of souls than I who never worked at it. It, therefore, is not for me to say that the Indian will not more readily imbibe regenerating grace by digging the ground and carrying logs on his shoulders, than in wearing out his knee-pans in fruitless ejaculations.

The Yam Hill River, which I have spoken of before as entering the western bank of the Willamette, is navigable for canoes and keel boats up to its forks, about fifteen or twenty miles from its mouth. Above this still, and at the head of navigation on the Willamette, is another town laid out, called Champoe, but I do not know that any lots have as yet been sold at that place.

I look upon the Willamette valley as one of the finest agricultural countries in America. The soft, rich soil of the prairies is easily broken up from its original imbeddedness with a single yoke of oxen, or a team of horses, and the moderation of the climate allows you to sow spring wheat as early as the middle of February, and from that until the 15th of May, as the season happens to run. You commence ploughing in October, and plough and sow wheat from that time to the fifteenth of May, to suit the spring or fall crops. There is not much difference in the yield of the early and late sowings, but you must put about twice as much seed in the ground for the latter as for the former. The land yields from 25 to 40 bushels to the acre. I saw a field of five acres sown about the 15th of May last, in new ground, which produced one hundred and ten bushels of the most excellent grain.

The wheat of this country is better than that of the States. The grains are larger and plumper, and a bushel weighs several pounds more.

This country produces oats, peas, tomatoes, and garden vegetables generally, in great abundance. Irish potatoes and turnips grow better here than in the States. Sweet potatoes have not yet been tried, with the exception of an inferior specimen, from the Sandwich Islands, and they did not succeed well. If we had some good seed from the States, I have no doubt we could make them produce very well. Indian corn does not succeed well, and it is not so profitable a crop as other grain, yet it can be raised here in sufficient quantities for all useful purposes, for you need but little, in consequence of not being obliged to feed your stock.

Fruit, such as apples, peaches, cherries, plumbs, pears, melons, &c., thrive here exceedingly well; while wild fruit and berries abound in the utmost profusion. Cranberries are found in great quantities near the mouth of the Columbia, and are brought up here and to Vancouver, by the Indians, and sold for almost nothing. Blue-berries, raspberries, sal-lal-berries, thorn-berries, crab-apples, a kind of whortleberry, and strawberries are found in large quantities in every direction in this section of Oregon. The strawberries of this country are peculiarly fine; they are larger in their size than those of the States, and possess a more delicious flavor.

As regards the country for grazing, it is certainly all that any one could wish it. Cattle require no shelter nor feeding, and upon the Yam Hill plains numerous salt springs supply another necessary of their fodder. Cows calve here when fifteen and twenty months old. This is also a good country for raising hogs; upon the Willamette below the falls, and on the Columbia, they live upon the wappate-root, and upon the plains they find a plentiful subsistence in the grass and fruit of the white oak. The grass of this country as I have had occasion to say before, is peculiarly nutritious, and cattle who have been put here to recruit, recover their physical energies with wonderful rapidity while feeding on it. In the last of November, the period of my first visit to this place, I saw a fine sorrel horse, which had been brought to this country by Mr. John Holeman of Clinton County, Missouri, that was turned upon the grass in Fallatry Plains in the middle of the previous month. He was then so reduced and feeble, with the fatigues he had undergone during the trip from the States, that he could barely raise a trot; but when I saw him, he was in fine condition and curvetting about the plains as gaily as any of the other horses, with whom he was enjoying primitive independence. Cattle that were worked from the States to the Dalles, and from there brought down to the Willamette valley last year, have borne the winter well, and are now thriving rapidly.

The climate of this lower section of Oregon, is indeed, most mild. Having now passed a winter here, permanently and most comfortably established at Linnton, I am enabled to speak of it from personal experience. The winter may be said to commence about the middle of December, and to end about the 10th of February, and a notion of the genial nature of its visitation may be gained from the fact, that I saw strawberries in bloom about the first of last December in the Fallatry Plains, and as early as the 20th of February the wild flowers were blooming on the hill-sides. The grass has now been growing since the 10th of February, and towards the end of that month, the trees were budding and the shrubbery in bloom. About the 26th of November, we had a spell of cold weather, and a slight fall of snow, which, however, was gone in a day or two. In December, we had very little snow, all of it melting as it fell; in January we had more, but all of it like the previous falls, melted as it came down, with the exception of one visitation, that managed to last upon the ground for three days.

The soil has not been frozen more than one inch deep during the whole winter, and ploughing has been carried on without interruption throughout the winter and fall. As regards rains in the winter, I have found them much less troublesome than I anticipated. I had supposed, from what I had heard of the incessant storms of this region, that out-door work could not be done at all here, during the rainy season, but I have found that a great deal more labor of this description can be performed here, than during the same period in the western states. The rains fall in gentle showers, and are generally what are termed drizzling rains, from the effect of which a blanket-coat is an effectual protection for the whole day. They are not the chilly rains which sting you in the fall and spring seasons of the eastern states, but are warm as well as light. They are never hard enough in the worst of times, to wash the roads or fields, and consequently, you can find no gullies worn or cut in your fields, by this means.

As to wind, I have *witnessed* less, if such a term can be used, than at any other place I have ever been in, and I have but to say, that if the timber we have here, spread their lofty branches in the States, they would be riven by the lightning, and blown down to an extent that would spare many of them the blow of the settler's axe. Here, I have heard no thunder, and have seen but one tree that had been struck by lightning.

CHAPTER XI.

Aborigines of Oregon—Their numbers and character—Their canoes—Their mode of fishing—Game—Timber—Fisheries—Water power—Mountains—A volcano—Commercial, Agricultural, and Manufacturing features of Oregon—Value of the arm of labor.

The aborigines of Oregon form, at present, nine-tenths of the population of the whole country, and from their newly adapted habits, are deserving of a place in the social census. They were formerly much more numerous, but like all the savage race, they melt away from the white man's approach like shadows before the advancing sun. I have no means of accurately ascertaining their number, as large bodies of them are in the habit of moving from place to place to reap the varying harvests of the fisheries, but I believe they somewhat exceed 20,000. They are most numerous in the Nez Perces country, which extends eastward from Wallawalla, and considerable numbers of the Cheenooks attracted by the fisheries, are to be found at the Dalles and at the mouth of the Columbia river. They are, however, degenerate and broken, and instead of the proud and warlike being which presents itself to the imagination when the idea of an American Indian enters it, they but offer to the actual beholder the specimen of a creature degraded almost to the level of a beast, and capable of submitting to the most servile abasement. Indeed, so completely are they under the control of the superior intelligence of the Anglo Saxon settler, that they can scarcely be considered in a much more dignified light than as a race of natural villiens or serfs. The Nez Perces Indians retain in a greater degree than any other, their ancient independence; but even the members of this tribe fall readily under the control and mastery of the whites.

The Indians between Wallawalla and the Dalles are a cowardly and thievish set, and the portion of them situated at the latter place, in addition to being degraded and ignorant in the extreme, are so addicted to stealing, that they lay hands on every trifle that comes within their reach. Those portions at Vancouver and in the valley of the Willamette, are abject, servile, and filthy in their habits, and most of them go half naked during the whole year. In both this and the adjoining region, they perform a great deal of work for the whites, and where labor is so scarce as it is here, they are of no slight assistance to the settlements. Many of them make very good hired hands, and they are found particularly useful in rowing boats, paddling canoes, herding cattle, and in the menial operations which require a sort of refuse labor, if such a term can be used, that would be dear at the outlay of a valuable settler's time. You can hire a Chenook to work upon a farm a week for a shirt worth 83 cents.

These Indians construct the finest canoes in the world. They make them out of the cedar which grows at the mouth of the Columbia, from twenty to thirty feet long, and from three to four feet wide. Their bottoms are flat, like those of skiffs, and being light, this construction, together with the sharp form of the bows, makes them very swift. In fashioning the canoe, they commence upon the middle and taper it gradually to a sharp point at each end, not turning it up with a flourish like the bows and stern of ordinary vessels of the kind. The only ornament they put upon them, is a sort of figure head made of a separate piece of wood, which is fitted on the bows, and is generally beautified with a rude mosaic of sea-shells imbedded in various figures in the wood.

The conduct of the Hudson's Bay Company towards the Indians, has been prompt and discriminating, both in the distribution of benefits, and in the punishment of offences. They have not held a whole tribe responsible for the unauthorised acts of individuals, but have in all cases carefully sought out the real perpetrators and punished them without fail. When the country was first visited by the whites, the natives were of a ferocious and warlike character, and it required sixty men to pass up the Columbia in boats, to ensure the safety of the expedition; but now, a single individual can pass without molestation to the Dalles, and a squad of six or eight may travel in perfect security through any portion of the territory. The Flatheads and Snakes, formerly the most incorrigible, have long been peaceable, honest, and friendly. One of the gentlemen belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, told me that in the many trading expeditions they had had with these tribes, they had never lost the first article, and many times they had purposely exposed their goods to trifling depredations, for the purpose of testing their honesty.

All of the tribes of Oregon wear their hair long, and are exceedingly fond of the dress of the whites; but nothing holds so strong a claim to their admiration, or so firm a seat in their affections, as a *shirt*. A pair of pantaloons holds the next place, a coat next, and so on through the inferior articles of apparel. They show the most extravagant delight when dressed in these garments, but still prefer to display the shirt on the outside of all. Candor, however, compels me to declare, that those who are fortunate enough to possess one of these articles, generally make it do the duty of a full dress. They call the Americans, "*Bostons*," which title they have adopted in consequence of having been originally informed by Captain Gray, the first pale face who ever entered their territory, that he came from a place called Boston. The English they call King George.

The Indians of Oregon are exceedingly addicted to gambling, and have been known to pursue this demoralising passion to the fatal length of even staking their liberty on a game, and playing themselves, by a run of ill luck, into a state of perpetual slavery. When we estimate the love of a savage for independence, we can arrive at some measurement of the degree of the passion which exacts its sacrifice. Upon the whole, these Indians are of vast benefit to the whites of this region. In the present condition of the settlements, we should lose much by their absence.

FISHERIES.—The fisheries of this country are very great, and foremost among all the varieties which they produce, is the unrivalled salmon. It would be impossible to estimate the numbers of this excellent fish annually taken in the Columbia and its tributaries; but they have been set down at ten thousand barrels a year, which number I do not think by any means too large. The salmon in this country are never caught with a hook. They are sometimes taken by the Indians with a small scoop net, but generally are caught with a sort of spear of a very peculiar description. These are made by the natives after the following fashion. They take a pole, made of ash, or of some hard wood, about ten feet long and one inch thick, and gradually tapering to a point at one end. They then cut a piece, about four inches long, from the sharp prong of a buck's horn, and hollow out the large end so that it fits the pole. About the middle of the buck horn, they make a small hole through which they put a cord, or leather string, that runs along the pole and fastens to it about two feet from the lower end. When they spear a fish with this weapon, the pole is withdrawn and the buck horn barb is left imbedded in the animal's body, or having run through and through it, remains fastened on the other side. Escape is thus rendered impossible, and the prey unable to elude the prong, is securely drawn in by the string. All the salmon caught here are taken by the Indians, and sold to the whites at about ten cents each, and frequently for less. One Indian will take about twenty upon an average per day.

The salmon taken at different points, differ greatly in kind and quality, and it is only at particular places that they can be taken. The fattest and best are those taken at the mouth of the Columbia, and the next best are those taken in the Columbia, a few miles below Vancouver, at the Cascades, and at the Dalles. These taken at the Willamette falls, are smaller in size, and inferior in flavor, and are said to be of a different kind. What is singular, this fish cannot be taken in any considerable numbers with large seines, and this is only to be accounted for, by their remarkable shyness, and their superior activity. I believe no white man has yet succeeded in taking them with the gig. They make their appearance in the vicinity of Vancouver, first in the Klackamus river, and the best quality are taken in June.

There are several other kinds of fish in the bays, rivers, and creeks of the territory, of which a species of cod and the sturgeon are the most important. The latter are a large fish, and afford great sport in a leisure hour to take them with a hook and line. They are taken in the Willamette, below the falls; in the Columbia, at all points, and in the Snake or Saptin river, as high up as Fort Boisé. Of shell-fish, we have the crab, clams, muscles, and a small description of oyster.

Game.—The wild animals of this, the first section of Oregon, are the black bear, black-tailed deer, raccoon, panther, polecat, rabbit, wolf, beaver, and a few others. Of these, the deer and the wolves are the most numerous. We have no buffaloes, antelopes, or prairie chickens here, but in the second section the latter species of feathered game are plenty.

Of fancy birds, we have blue jay, larger, and of a deeper blue than those of the States; the nut-brown wren, a most beautiful and gentle little atom, scarcely larger than the humming-bird; also a species of bird, which resembles the robin in form, color, and size; and also a species of nightingale, that sings the livelong night; but though I have heard these evening songsters, time and again, I have never yet managed to get sight of one. The bald eagle, so well described by Wilson, is found along all the rivers; but here, he is obliged to compromise a portion of his lordly character to his necessities, and to work for his own living, having no fish-hawks to catch his game for him. He feeds principally upon the dead salmon he gleans from the surface of the water, as they float downward in the stream, and changes his diet by an occasional swoop upon some unlucky duck, which he catches either while on the wing, or while feeding in the river. If the duck when pursued in the air, can reach the surface of the water, he does so with the utmost speed of wing, and seeks a momentary refuge by diving under it. The eagle, balancing himself over the spot of his victim's disappearance, waits until he rises, and then strikes at him again and again, until the latter's strength becomes wasted with the unusual effort, and giving out at length, the relentless conqueror bears him off as he rises languidly and for the last time to the surface of the water. We have also pheasants in abundance, likewise partridges, grouse, brant, pelicans, plovers, wild geese, thrush, gulls, cranes, swans, and ravens, crows and vultures. For a sportsman, this region is a paradise, and a dog and a gun will afford him a chapter of elysium every day of his life.

There is one peculiarly attractive feature, which this country possesses over most others, and that is, that like Old Ireland itself, it has no poisonous reptiles or *insects*, and better than Ireland, we are not burdened with obligations to any saint for the saintly offices of extirpating them. The only snake we have, is the harmless garter-snake, and there are no flies to annoy the cattle.

Timber.—The timber of this section of Oregon, constitutes the main source of its wealth. It is found in inexhaustible quantities on the Columbia, and on the Willamette, just where the water power is at hand to cut it up, and where ships can easily take it on board. The principal timber of this section is the fir, the white cedar, white oak and black ash. There are three kinds of fir; the white, yellow, and red; all of them fine for plank, shingles, boards and rails.

The white fir makes the best shingles. The fir is a species of pine, which grows very tall and straight, and stands very thick upon the ground. Thick as they stand, however, when you cut one, it never lodges in its fall, for the reason that it never forks, and the limbs of the others are too small to stop the descent of its enormous bulk. In the Cascade mountains, and near the mouth of the Columbia river, they rise to the height of three hundred feet. They split exceedingly well, and make the finest boards of any timber I have ever seen. I cut one tree, from which I sawed twenty-four cuts of three foot boards, and there are plenty of such specimens all around me, yet untouched.

The white cedar is very fine timber, and is nearly if not quite equal to the red cedar of the States. In the vicinity of Linntan, it grows to the size of three feet in diameter, and is tall enough to make six rail cuts to the tree. I have cut two ware-house logs, thirty feet long, off one tree, and three of the same logs off a red fir, which was only about fourteen inches in diameter at the stump. The cedar splits remarkably well, makes fine rails, shingles, or house-logs, and lasts a lifetime.

The *white* oak timber is better for wagon-making than any specimens to be found east of the Rocky Mountains, and it is the best wood that can be had for axe-handles, and for similar purposes. It grows about as tall as in the States. The *black* oak, which also grows profusely in our forests, makes excellent fire-wood, and answers likewise for many other purposes.

In the range of mountains back of Linntann, we have plenty of the hemlock, the bark of which is fine for tanning hides; and I have no doubt that ere long, the skins that will be stripped from our large herds of stock, will be extensively converted into leather, by its agency. We have also the dog-wood and cherry-maple, sprinkled among the firs and cedars. The hazel of this country is four times larger than that of the States, and is also much tougher in its texture; it is extensively used for hoops, and for the manufacture of a coarse kind of scrub broom. The fruit of this tree is of a lighter color than the hazel-nuts of the States, and they are of the shape and size of a chinkapin acorn. Persons coming from the States will find very little timber here like that to which they have been accustomed, for all of it is on a grander scale. The black ash and dog-wood are very similar to those of Tennessee and Kentucky, and the white oak is perhaps but little different from any eastward of the mountains. But we have no walnut, hickory, percimmon, pawpaw, locust, coffee-nut, chestnut, sugar-tree, box-elder, poplar, sycamore, or elm.

Water Power.—The water power of this country is unequalled, and is found distributed through every section. That at the falls of the Willamette cannot be surpassed in the world. Any quantity of machinery can be put in motion there; but the good water power is not confined to the Willamette falls, for in many places on the Columbia, the Willamette, and the other rivers, there are mill sites as good, though none of them are quite so large. These advantages for converting the timber which surrounds them, into a marketable commodity of great value in the neighbouring ocean, will ere long be appreciated to a far greater extent by even this region, than at present.

Mountains.—We have the most beautiful scenery of North America—we lie upon the largest ocean, we have the purest and most beautiful streams,* the loftiest and most majestic trees, and the most stupendous mountains of the continent. The latter, as I have had occasion to mention before, are divided into three great ranges, but as the description of the features of the lower region is at present my especial object, I will pass over the Rocky mountains and the Blue, and confine myself to the President's range which forms the eastern wall of our valley. The several peaks of this range are grand and imposing objects. From Vancouver you have a full and fair view of Mount Hood, to the south, which is called by some the tallest peak of the Cascades, and rises more than sixteen thousand feet above the level of the sea, and ten thousand above the mountains immediately around it. This lofty pile rises by itself in a regular and perfect cone, and is covered with perpetual snow. It is the only peak you can see from Vancouver, as the view in other directions is obscured by tall fir timber. At the mouth of the Willamette, as you enter the Columbia, you have a full view of Mount St. Helens or Mount Washington, and also of Mount Hood. From Linntan you have a very fair view of the former mountain, which is almost fifty miles distant from this point, though it looks as if it were almost within reach. This peak is very smooth and perfectly conical in its form. It is nearly as tall as Mount Hood, and is the most beautiful of the range. It lies immediately on a line with the mouth of the Columbia, and is a land-mark visible several miles at sea and useful in directing vessels to its harbor. Like Mount Hood it stands alone in its solitary grandeur far above all surrounding objects and awing them into insignificance. This mountain, which until last year, towered serenely in the air covered with ten thousand perpendicular feet of snow, suddenly burst into a burning volcano, in which state it now remains. The crater is in its side about two-thirds of its distance from its base, and by the account of the Indian inhabitants in its vicinity, it emitted a flood of lava at the time of its eruption, which poured its stream of fire through the whole depth of the virgin sheet that wrapped its sides. A savage who had been hunting deer some distance up the mountain, finding his return to his wigwam thus cut off, took a run and attempted to jump across it, but not being able to clear its breadth, he fell with one foot in the glowing torrent, and was so severely burnt, that he came very nearly being lamed for life. He hastened to Vancouver, however, and by the assistance of Dr. Barclay at the Fort, was gradually cured.

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* We protest against this claim for their rivers, for it is at variance with the writer's own description of the whole line of streams which he traversed from the Rocky mountains to the ocean.

This mountain is second in height to but one in the world, (Cotopaxi in South America,) and like other volcanoes it burns at intervals. On one side of it near its top, is discovered a large dark object amid the surrounding snow, which is supposed to be the mouth of a huge cavern, and doubtless is the ancient crater of some expired issue. On the 16th February 1844, the mountain burned most magnificently. Dense masses of smoke rose up in immense columns and wreathed the whole crest of the peak in sombre and massive clouds; and in the evening its fire lit up the flaky mountain-side with a flood of soft yet brilliant radiance. The range, of which this is the most distinguishing feature, runs throughout the whole length of the territory and is remarkable for its seperate and independant cones.

Commercial, Agricultural and Manufacturing advantages.—The commercial advantages of this country are very great. The trade with the Sandwich Islands is daily increasing, and surrounded as we are with a half civilized race of men, our manufacturing power will soon have a home market for itself; besides, South America, California and the Sandwich Islands, must depend upon us for their lumber. Already large quantities of shingles and plank are sent to the latter market, and we shall also have a full demand for all our other surplus productions at the same port, for most vessels visiting the north Pacific, touch at these islands for the purpose of obtaining supplies of fresh provisions. The Russian settlements are already dependent upon us, and even the markets of China are within our reach. For the supply of the regions of the Pacific, and the more northern settlements of the coast, there can be no competition with us in the way of provisions, as we have no neighbors in the producing line.

I consider Oregon, in many respects, superior to California, as in the latter country, the climate is so warm that pork and beef cannot be put up, and consequently the grazer loses half his profits; besides, its enervating temperature like that of all warm countries, has a degenerating effect upon the enterprise of the inhabitants. For a commercial and manufacturing people, the climate of Oregon is warm enough. We can here preserve our pork and beef without danger of its tainting before the completion of the packing; and we have finer timber, better water power, and are not subject to the ruinous droughts of California.

Since our arrival, the prospects of the country have very much improved. Business of all kinds is active and times are flourishing. We live in a state of primitive simplicity and independence; we are the victims of no vices; there is no drinking or gambling among us, and Labor meets with such ample inducements and ready rewards, that lazy men are made industrious by the mere force of the influences around them.

Farming is considered the best business of this country. The business of making and putting up butter, which is never worth less than twenty cents per pound, is very profitable. A good fresh article is, I am told, never worth less than fifty cents and often brings one dollar per pound in the Pacific islands. There are now in operation, or will be this summer, mills enough to supply the whole population with flour. There is no scarcity of provisions at the prices I have previously stated, and I find that the emigrants who came out last year, live very comfortably, are perfectly content with their change, and are much improved in their appearance since the time of their arrival.

We have the finest spar timber, perhaps, in the world, and vessels arriving at the Columbia often take off a quantity for that purpose. The saw mills at the Willamette Falls cut large quantities of plank which they sell at two dollars per hundred. In speaking of the fir before, I omitted stating that it made excellent coal for blacksmith's purposes; and I will farther remark that it is singular that neither the fir nor the cedar, when burned, makes any ashes. It has been supposed that the timbered land of this country will be hard to clear up, but I have come to a different conclusion from the fact that the fir timber has very little top, is easily kindled, and burns readily. It also becomes seasoned very soon, and it is the opinion of good farmers that the timbered land will make the best wheat-fields of the country.

When an individual has any idle time, he can employ himself in making fir and cedar shingles, for the first of which he can get four dollars a thousand, and for the second, five; any quantity of them can be disposed of at these rates. Carpenters and other mechanics obtain three dollars per day and found. There is employment in abundance for every one desiring it, and it is only necessary for a man to be industrious to accomplish sure success and surround himself with all the comforts of an earthly paradise.

CHAPTER XII.

Concluding remarks—Directions to Emigrants—Line of route and table of distances, &c.

Having now completed an account of all the material points of our expedition into Oregon, and furnished the inquirer a general idea of its character and capabilities, the only thing that remains for me to do in the limits of this sketch, is to add a few more directions for the emigrant, for whose particular benefit, as I said, before, these imperfect notes are furnished. I have shown, indeed the result of our general expedition proved, that the route from the Rendezvous in Missouri, to this point, is practicable for any description of conveyance, and the success of our cattle in coming through, adds an assurance that it is remarkable as well, for its extraordinary emigrating facilities. If this needs any corroboration, a world of evidence can be furnished to sustain it, as well as every fact I have advanced; but in support of the peculiar feasibility of the route across the Indian territories of the States and along the line of the Platte, I will merely refer the reader to the fact, that Mr. Ashley, in an expedition in 1826, drew a field piece, (a six pounder) from Missouri, across the prairies, through the southern pass, to a fort on Utah lake (to the south of our southern boundary line,) the whole journey being a distance of 1200 miles; and to the additional fact that in 1828, a large number of heavily laden wagons performed the same journey with ease and without an accident, as will be seen by a reference to Congressional documents on file.

It will be remarked that I have slurred over portions of the route and neglected the regular incidents of much of our daily travel, but when it is remembered that the journey lasted six months, and that the events of many successive days scarcely varied from each other, the reader will come to the conclusion that it would have been hardly wise in me to have taxed his patience with each day's dull routine. The great object, I considered to be, the furnishing the course of the route, a view of its general aspect and difficulties, the distances between points of travel, (the main object of the present chapter) and to impart an accurate notion of the region which the settler must make his future home. I have therefore avoided everything that did not contribute to this design, with the exception of a few trifling incidents of humor inseparable from such an expedition, which I introduced to enliven the monotony of the narrative, and which, moreover, I considered useful, as affording an idea of camp life, and the amusements of a journey over the prairies.

Emigrants should start as early as possible in ordinary seasons. The first of May should be set down if possible as the outside limit, and even as early as the first of April, would do. For those coming from the Platte country, it is thought to be most adviseable to cross the Missouri at McPherson's ferry in Holt county, and to take up the ridge between the Platte and the Kansas rivers.

Companies of forty or fifty wagons are large enough, and I would advise bodies of travellers for this region to keep within that measure. Large bodies prove unwieldly to arrange and to control; the numerous stock attached to them become troublesome, and moreover large bodies of Americans are prone to differ in opinion. Small collections offer but few inducements to a disordered ambition, but large ones are conducive of selfish strife and discord. This has been seen to have been the case with our expedition; which divided after crossing the Kansas; and which was farther subdivided afterwards, on the other side of the mountains. I did not particularise this latter circumstance because I considered it of minor importance at the time, and it is now sufficient for my purpose to mention it here, as a caution against the error which induced it, in the future.

In driving stock to this country, about one in ten is lost; not more. Having started, the best way to proceed to save your teams, is to drive a reasonable distance every day, and to stop and go into camp about an hour before sundown. This gives time for all the necessary arrangements of the encampment and affords the teams an opportunity to rest and eat before the night sets in. About eight hours drive in the long days—resting an hour at noon—is, I think enough for one day's travel, and you should make it a rule never to drive irregularly if you can help it. Along the whole line of the Platte, on the Bear and Boisé rivers, and in many other places, you can encamp at any point you please; but at some points of the route you will be compelled to drive hard to get water and range for your cattle.

When you reach the country of the buffalo, never stop your wagons to hunt, as you will consume more provisions during the delay than you will save by the amount of your game; for it is generally consumed at once from the difficulty of curing it, in consequence of the warmth of the weather. Let your horsemen and scouts perform this duty, and supply this want for you; and if they use proper exertions, they can keep you all in fresh meat throughout the whole of the country of game. Any one wishing the amusement of this sport, should bring along an extra horse, and not use him until he reaches the buffalo region, as the hunting of this animal is rough work, and emigrants must needs be very careful they do not break their horses down. A prudent care should be taken of horses, teams, and provisions from the start, and no extra exertion should be required from the two first, and nothing of the last should be thrown away that can be eaten.

If a prudent course is taken, the trip can be made in ordinary seasons, in four months. It is true it took us longer, but we lost a great deal of time upon the road, and besides, we had the way to break. I have reason to believe, that other and better routes than the one travelled by us can be found. Captain Gant, our pilot, was decidedly of the opinion, that to keep up the south fork of the Platte, and to cross it just above the stream called the Kooshlapood, and thence up the latter stream, passing between the Black Hills on your right, and the Rocky Mountains on your left, and striking by this course at last the ordinary route by Green river, would be a better and nearer way into Oregon, and more plentifully supplied with game than the one we took. He had travelled both, and only brought us through the road he did, to avoid the large bands of Sioux and Black feet Indians, whom he had been informed were hunting upon the southern route.

The following table of distances, it is proper for me to say, is a rough calculation made up from an estimate of our daily travel. It consequently does not claim the accuracy of a geometrical admeasurement, but it is thought by those to whom I have submitted it, to be not far out of the way.

A TABLE OF DISTANCES FROM INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI, TO THE INTERMEDIATE POINTS BETWEEN THAT TOWN AND ASTORIA AT THE MOUTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER.

	Miles.
From Independence to the Rendezvous,	20
Rendezvous to Elm Grove	15
From Elm Grove to Walpalusia,	22
Walpalusia to Kanzas river,	31
Kanzas River to Big Sandy creek,	31
Big Sandy to Hurricane Branch,	12
Hurricane Branch to East fork of Blue River,	20
East fork to West fork of Blue River,	15
West fork to where we came in sight of the Republican fork of the Blue River,	41
Up Republican fork of the Blue River to where we left it to cross over to the Big Platte River,	66
Up the Platte to where we saw the first herd of buffalo,	56
Up the same to the crossing on the South fork of same,	117
South fork to crossing on North Fork of same,	31
Crossing of North Fork to Cedar Grove,	18
Cedar Grove to Solitary Tower,	16
Solitary Tower to Chimney Rock,	18
Chimney Tower to Scott's Bluffs,	20
Scott's Bluffs to Fort Larimie,	30
Fort Larimie to Big Spring at foot of Black Hills,	8
Big Spring to Keryan on North fork of Platte,	30
Keryan to crossing of North Fork,	34
Crossing of North Fork to Sweetwater River,	50
Up Sweetwater River to where we first saw the eternal snows of the Rocky Mountains,	60
From the above point to main dividing ridge of Rocky Mountains,	40
From dividing ridge to Little Sandy River,	16
Little Sandy to Big Sandy,	14
Big Sandy to Green River,	25
Down same,	12
To Black's fork of Green River,	22
From Black's fork to Fort Bridger,	30
Fort Bridger to Big Muddy River,	29
Big Muddy to Bear River,	37
Down Bear River to range of hills mentioned as running up to its bank,	67
Down Bear River to Great Soda Spring,	23
From Soda Spring to the Portneuf River, the first water of the Columbia,	20
To Fort Hall in the Snake or Septin River,	25
From Fort Hall to the Portneuf again,	11
Portneuf to Rock Creek,	57
Rock Creek to Salmon Falls on the Septin,	43
Salmon Falls to crossing on the Septin,	27
From crossing of Septin to Boiling Spring	19
Boiling Spring to Boisé River,	43
Down same to Fort Boisé on Septin,	40
Fort Boisé to Burnt River,	41
Up Burnt River for,	25
From last point to Powder River at "the Lone Pine,"	18
From "the Lone Pine" to Grand Round,	15
Grand Round to the Umatilla River on the west of the Blue Mountains,	42
Umatilla to Dr Whitman's Mission,	29
Mission to Fort Wallawalla,	25
Wallawalla to the Dalles Mission,	120
Dalles to Vancouver,	100
Vancouver to Astoria,	90
Astoria to the ocean,	10
Making in all from Independence to the Pacific ocean,	2020

From Independence to Vancouver by the above computation is 1946 miles by the route we travelled. I am well satisfied that the distance does not exceed 2000 miles for the reason that our ox teams could not have accomplished a greater distance within the time of their actual employment.

The trip to Oregon is neither a costly nor an expensive one, and an individual can travel here at as small an expense, as he can move from Tennessee or Kentucky, to Missouri. All the property he starts with he can bring through, and it is worth, upon his arrival, more than when he set out.

To conclude, there is no country in the world where the wants of man can be so readily supplied, and upon such easy terms as in this; and none where the beauties of nature are displayed upon a grander scale.

The chief value of this country, I must remark in closing, lies in the advantages it offers to the United States for a direct route to the East Indies and the ports of the Pacific ocean. Already these have been embraced by the Hudson's Bay settlers, and even now, the products of this region have grown to an importance that would make them sadly missed by several of the island markets and settlements upon the western coasts which they have of late supplied. Every day adds to their amount and their demand, and an ordinary sagacity may see in this fact, the promise of our future importance in the commercial world. There are many considerations involved in the first steps of our advance which it would please me to allude to in detail, but they are not embraced within the scope of my present purpose, and I leave them to the treatment of abler political economists.

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The more extended political organization of which I before spoke, is about to take place, and I was waited upon two or three days ago by a party from the Falls, to consult upon a plan of a general territorial government, with a legislature of two houses, and a Chief Justice for its first executive officer. This arrangement will embrace all the settlements of the valley into one common government, the representatives of which will convene in general congress, at stated periods, at Multonomah or Oregon city, and there transact all the necessary business for our little body politic. When this plan is adopted, (as it doubtless will immediately be,) it will perhaps, be the peculiar honor of your humble servant, to sit in a curule chair of the first Republican Government beyond the Rocky mountains. We shall then be able to make our own laws, and likewise to do our own voting and our own fighting. Let not our bretheren of the States mistrust our ability to maintain ourselves in our new position! We have strong arms and stout hearts; we have despised the toils of two thousand miles of travel to build our homes upon the soil, and we will never leave its face, until we sink beneath it.*

CONCLUDING NOTE.

FALCONER'S RECENT WORK ON THE OREGON QUESTION.

The author cannot say his last word without allusion to a British re-publication which appeared when the foregoing pages were in press. It is entitled, "The Oregon Question; or a Statement of the British Claims, in opposition to the Pretensions of the United States, by Thomas Falconer, Barrister at Law, of Lincoln's Inn."

It is unnecessary to our purpose to travel after the writer though all his tortuous sophistries, as they are fully answered by the plain statements of the previous portions of this work; but, as Mr. Falconer is a special advocate of international law, and advances some rather novel and interesting positions, it may not be amiss to glance at the main points of his performance. The learned barrister somewhat ingeniously commences by adjudging us the French Title as the foundation of our claims, and having given it this position as his least formidable obstacle, pelts away at it with evident satisfaction. He is welcome to his pains, for if he succeeds in destroying it altogether, it will not affect our claims a jot. He next insists upon the discoveries of Drake with the utmost pertinacity, though he succeeds but poorly, and can manage to defend the varacity of the freebooting Preacher, on whose romantic statements they depend, no better than by asking—what motive he could have to lie? This appeal, in the face of the fact, that navigators had for nearly a hundred years previous been struggling for the renown of the furtherest northern advance, is the very superlative of absurdity, and is undeserving of a grave reply. Mr. Falconer lays great stress upon the concessions of Spain by the Nootka treaty, (a rather strange mode by the way of fortifying the antagonistic claims of Drake and Cook,) and insists that, "this convention was an admission of the *right* of the English Government to make settlements." Well, suppose it was, what then? She did not consummate that privilege by any settlement, as we have before shown, previous to the succeeding war of 1796 which swept the right away with the other conditional agreements and reciprocal privileges dependant upon a state of amity? Had she, in the mean time, made an actual settlement and retained it through the war, her proposition that "the right to make settlements was a cession of territory," would, in its application to this case, wear a graver aspect. But throwing aside the Nootka treaty, and granting Britain the privilege of settlement in unoccupied wastes as a natural right, and still she gains nothing by it, for, by her own rule: "discovery alone and an *alleged* intention to occupy do not give a perfect title, unless an actual occupation take place." This is an unfortunate quotation of the learned barrister's, for we have seen that Britain's very first settlement in any part of Oregon, was at Astoria, after the purchase of the Pacific Fur Company's effects in 1813; while on the other hand, the United States reaps the harvest of the principle by a number of explorations and settlements extending from 1792 to the above period. But these formidable circumstances must be overcome, and the gentleman of Lincoln's Inn seeks to accomplish his purpose by a farther borrowing into international law. By the outlay of a little industrious research, he finds that this grand system accords to the subjects of monarchial governments privileges by discovery and settlement, which it denies to the Citizens of a Republic; that while the former may be empowered by their sovereign to discover countries, to take possession and establish laws, the latter cannot receive similar powers from the President of the United States, "and without such authority," continues he, "they are mere outcasts and vagabonds upon the face of the desert, and no political inferences can be drawn from their acts. Hence," concludes the learned barrister, "the British settlement on the Columbia in 1813, was the first of a national and legal character, recognizable as such, by foreign nations." This is all very well as an ingenious obliquity of argument, but we understand the political distinction between Americans and Britons in a different sense. By our institutions every Citizen of the United States is in himself a sovereign, and possesses, as a matter of course, every natural right and its consequences, that monarchs grant by special act of grace to their obedient subjects. While Europeans range in varying subordinate degrees, the Citizens of our glorious Republic have a right to rank with kings.

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* Recent accouts from the west inform us that there are now gathered near Independence, Missouri, about 7000 emigrants, all destinded for Oregon and California. They are to set out in convenient detachments about the 1st of June.

Satisfied with his deductions, the learned gentleman finally winds up with an appeal to the commercial interests which will be injured by a state of war, and with a suggestion that the whole dispute be referred to the arbitration of some foreign power.

Do we need more than this to prove the absurdity of international law as applied to us? Is not the above insulting construction of our institutions, a sufficient argument to induce us to reject at once the system it is based on with the contempt it deserves! Instead of gravely inquiring what might have been the opinion of this or that monarchical writer some hundreds of years ago, would it not be more dignified—more just, to decide for ourselves upon the merits of the case, and according to first principles?

APPENDIX.

CONTAINING THE DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE—TREATIES AND NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA, SPAIN, GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES, REFERRED TO IN THE FIRST PORTION OF THE FOREGOING WORK.

(No. 1.)

Convention between the United States and Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, on the 17th of April, 1824.

ARTICLE 1. It is agreed that, in any part of the great ocean, commonly called the *Pacific Ocean*, or South sea, the respective citizens or subjects of the high contracting powers shall be neither disturbed nor restrained, either in navigation or in fishing, or in the power of resorting to the coasts, upon points which may not already have been occupied, for the purpose of trading with the natives; saving always the restrictions and conditions determined by the following articles.

ART. 2. With the view of preventing the rights of navigation and of fishing, exercised upon the great ocean by the citizens and subjects of the high contracting powers, from becoming the pretext for an illicit trade, it is agreed that the citizens of the United States shall not resort to any point where there is a Russian establishment, without the permission of the governor or commander; and that, reciprocally, the subjects of Russia shall not resort, without permission, to any establishment of the United States upon the north-west coast.

ART. 3. It is, moreover, agreed that hereafter there shall not be formed by the citizens of the United States, or under the authority of the said *States*, any establishment upon the north-west coast of America, nor in any of the islands adjacent, *to the north* of 54 degrees and 40 minutes of north latitude; and that, in the same manner, there shall be none formed by Russian subjects, or under the authority of Russia, *south* of the same parallel.

ART. 4. It is, nevertheless, understood that, during a term of ten years, counting from the signature of the present convention, the ships of both powers, or which belong to their citizens or subjects, respectively, may reciprocally frequent, without any hinderance whatever, the interior seas, gulfs, harbors, and creeks, upon the coast mentioned in the preceding article, for the purpose of fishing and trading with the natives of the country.

ART. 5. All spirituous liquors, fire-arms, other arms, powder, and munitions of war of every kind, are always excepted from this same commerce permitted by the preceding article; and the two powers engage, reciprocally, neither to sell, nor suffer them to be sold, to the natives, by their respective citizens and subjects, nor by any person who may be under their authority. It is likewise stipulated, that this restriction shall never afford a pretext, nor be advanced, in any case, to authorize either search or detention of the vessels, seizure of the merchandise, or, in fine, any measures of constraint whatever, towards the merchants or the crews who may carry on this commerce; the high contracting powers reciprocally reserving to themselves to determine upon the penalties to be incurred, and to inflict the punishments in case of the contravention of this article by their respective citizens or subjects.

(No. 2.)

THE FRENCH TITLE.

Extract from the Report of the Committee on Military Affairs, made in Congress in 1843.

The treaty of Utrecht was concluded in 1713. By the tenth article it was agreed between Great Britain and France, to determine within one year, by commissioners, the limits between the Hudson's Bay and the places appertaining to the French

The same commissioners were also authorized to settle, in like manner, the boundaries between the other British and French colonies in those parts. Commissioners were accordingly appointed by the two Powers, and there is strong reason to believe they actually established the boundaries according to the terms of the treaty, although no formal record of the fact now *exists*. The evidence that the boundaries were thus established is, first, "the fact of the appointment of the commissioners for that express purpose; and that two distinct lines may be found traced on the different maps published in the last century, each purporting to be the limit between the Hudson's Bay territories on the north and the French possessions on the south, fixed by commissioners according to the treaty of Utrecht." One of these lines "is drawn irregularly from the Atlantic to a point in the 49th parallel of latitude, south of the southernmost part of the Hudson's Bay, and thence westward along that parallel to Red River, and, in some maps, still further west. This line is generally considered in the United States, and has been assumed by their government, as the true boundary settled by the commissioners agreeably to the treaty above mentioned." Thus we find Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney, at Madrid, in 1805, writing to the Spanish minister as follows: "In conformity with the tenth article of the first-mentioned treaty, (treaty of Utrecht,) the boundary between Canada and Louisiana on the one side, and the Hudson's Bay and Northwestern Companies on the other, was established by commissioners by a line to commence at a cape or promontory on the ocean in 58 degrees 31 minutes north latitude; to run thence southwestwardly to latitude 49 degrees north from the equator, and along that line indefinitely westward." These extracts are taken from the Memoir of Mr. Greenhow, who, it is proper to add, considers the opinion that these boundary lines were actually established by the commissioners "at variance with the most accredited authorities." In this opinion the committee does not concur; so far from doing so, it is thought the presumption that the 49th parallel was adopted by the commissioners under the treaty of Utrecht, is strengthened by the line of demarcation subsequently agreed on by the treaty of Versailles, in 1763, between France and Great Britain, and also by the treaty of peace of 1783, between the United States and Great Britain. By the former, the "confines between the British and French possessions were irrevocably fixed by a line drawn along the middle of the *Mississippi*, from its source to the Iberville," etc. By the latter, that part of the northern boundary of the United States which is applicable to the subject is described to be through the Lake-of-the-Woods, "to the most northwestern point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the Mississippi river." The most northwestern point of the Lake-of-the-Woods is perhaps a few minutes north of the 49th parallel of latitude. By the convention of 1818, between the United States and Great Britain, in the second article, it is agreed that a line drawn from the most northwestern point of the Lake-of-the-Woods, along the 49th parallel of north latitude, or if the said point shall not lie in the 49th parallel of north latitude, then that a line drawn from the said point due north or south, as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection, due west, along and with said parallel, shall be the line of demarcation between the territories of the United States and those of his Britannic majesty; and that the said line shall form the northern boundery of the said territories of the United States, and the southern boundary of the territory of his Britannic majesty, from the Lake-of-the-Woods to the Stony Mountains."

This line, it will be observed, is a deviation from the boundary established by the treaty of 1783; for that was to extend due west from the northwestern point of the Lake-of-the-Woods, *without any reference to its latitude.* By this, we are in the contingency named, to run by the shortest line from the specified point on the Lake-of-the-Woods to the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. Whence, it may be asked, the solicitude to adopt this particular parallel, except as it corresponded with preëxisting arrangements, which could have been made under the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht alone? for under no other had any reference at that time been made to the said forty-ninth degree.

This coincidence between the boundaries established by Great Britain and France in 1763, and between Great Britain and the United States in 1783 and 1818, can scarcely be accounted for on any other supposition, than that the said line had been previously established by the commissioners under the treaty of Utrecht. This conclusion is strengthened by a further coincidence in the boundaries fixed in the said treaties of 1763 and 1783. In both, the Mississippi is adopted as the boundary. One of the lines then (the Mississippi) previously established between Great Britain and France being thus, beyond all cavil, adopted between the United States and Great Britain, may it not be fairly inferred, in the absence of all proof to the contrary, and with strong corroborating proof in favor of the inference, drawn from the stipulations of treaties, lines of demarcation on old maps, etc., that the other line, (forty-ninth parallel,) equally beyond cavil established by the United States and Great Britain, was also the same one previously existing between Great Britain and France? but such line had no existence, unless under the stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht. For these reasons, the committee has adopted the opinion, that the forty-ninth parallel of latitude was actually established by the commissioners under that treaty. It may not be unimportant here to observe, that this forty-ninth parallel is not a random line, arbitrarily selected, but the one to which France was entitled upon the well-settled principle that the first discoverer of a river is entitled, by virtue of that discovery, to all the unoccupied territory watered by that river and its tributaries.

We have seen that, by the treaty of 1763, the Mississippi, from its source, was adopted as the line of demarcation between the British and French possessions. Louisiana then extended north as far as that river reached; in other words, it stretched along the whole course of the Mississippi, from its source, in about latitude forty-nine, to its mouth, in the gulf of Mexico, in latitude twenty-nine. By the stipulations, then, of this treaty alone, without without calling in the aid of the previous treaty of Utrecht, the northern boundary of Louisiana is clearly recognized as a line drawn due west from the source of the Mississippi: we say due west, because the east line alone of the boundaries of Louisiana being specifically and in express terms established by the treaty, her surface can only be ascertained by the extension of that whole line in the direction in which her territory is admitted to lie. This simple and only practicable process of giving to Louisiana any territory under the treaty, fixes as the whole of her northern boundary, a line running due west from the source of the Mississippi, which may, for the purpose of this argument, be fairly assumed as the forty-ninth parallel, without injustice to any party.

Having thus ascertained the northern boundary of Louisiana, it becomes important to inquire what were its western limits, as between Great Britain and France: we say between Great Britain and France, because here another competitor appeared, (we speak of 1763,) in the person of the king of Spain, upon whose title we shall insist, if we fail to establish that of France.

The treaty of 1763 professing to establish and actually establishing lines of demarcation between the contiguous territories of the contracting parties, it cannot be denied, except upon strong proof, that all the boundaries about which any dispute then existed, or subsequent disputes could be anticipated, (that is, where their respective territories touched each other,) were then definitely adjusted and settled. These territories are known to have touched on the north and on the east; and accordingly in those quarters we find the lines clearly described. Is it not evident, that had they touched in other points, had there been other quarters where questions of conflicting claims might have arisen, the lines in those quarters also would have been fixed with equal precision? But to the south and west there is no allusion in the treaty; an omission conclusive of the fact that in those directions Great Britain had no territory contiguous to Louisiana. But Louisiana extended, by the stipulations of the treaty, west from the Mississippi; and Great Britain, having no territory or claim to territory which could arrest her extension in that direction, is precluded from denying that the French title covered the whole country from that river to the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

The parties to the treaty of 1763 made partition of almost the whole continent of North America, assigning to England the territory east of the Mississippi, and north of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. No claim was at that time advanced by Great Britain to territory in any other quarter of this vast continent; a very pregnant conclusion against the existence of any such claim. Her Government, ever vigilant for the increase of her territory, with a view to the extension of her commerce, manifested upon the occasion of this treaty an avidity of acquisition which the continent was scarcely large enough to satisfy. Never very nice in scrutinizing the foundation of her pretensions, nor over scrupulous in the selection of means to enforce them, she was at this juncture in a position peculiarly auspicious to the gratification of her absorbing passion of territorial aggrandizement. Conqueror at every point, she dictated the terms of peace, and asserted successfully every claim founded in the slightest pretext of right. Still no title is either advanced or even intimated, to possessions west of the Mississippi.

Mr. Cushing, of Massachusetts, in a report from the Committee on Foreign Relations, to the House of Representatives, made January 4, 1839, has the following sentences: "As between France and Great Britain, or Great Britain and the United States, the successor of all the rights of France, the question (of boundary) would seem to be concluded by the treaty of Versailles, already cited, in which Great Britain relinquishes, *irrevocably*, all pretensions west of the Mississippi. On the footing of the treaty of Utrecht, ratified by our convention, of 1818, England may possibly, by extension of contiguity, carry her possessions from Hudson's Bay across to the Pacific, north of latitude 49°; but by the treaty of Versailles we possess the same right, and an exclusive one, to carry our territory across the continent, south of that line, in the right of France."

It may, perhaps, be urged that the limits of Louisiana, on the west, are confined to the territory drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries; the extent of her claim, founded on the discovery of that river, being restricted to the country so drained. The principle upon which this limitation is attempted may be safely admitted, without in any degree affecting the right for which we contend; because, first, Great Britain is precluded from asserting it by her admission, in 1763, that Louisiana extended indefinitely west *from* the Mississippi; and, second, because the principle being of universal application, if the discovery of the Mississippi by the French confine Louisiana to its waters east of the Rocky Mountains, the discovery of the Columbia by the Americans will extend their claim to the whole country watered by that great river, west of those mountains, and our true claim has this extent. Yet, to avoid unprofitable disputes, and for the sake of peace, we have expressed a willingness (met in no corresponding spirit, the committee is sorry to say,) to confine ourselves to much narrower limits.

(No. 3.)

Copy of the Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Spain, commonly called the Nootka Treaty, of October, 1790.

"Article 1. The buildings and tracts of land situated on the north-west coast of the Continent of North America, or on the islands adjacent to that Continent, of which the subjects of his Britannic majesty were dispossessed about the month of April, 1789, by a Spanish officer, shall be restored to the said British subjects.

"Art. 2. A just reparation shall be made according to the nature of the case, for all acts of violence and hostility which may have been committed subsequent to the month of April, 1789, by the subjects of either of the contracting parties against the subjects of the other; and in case said respective subjects shall, since the same period, have been forcibly dispossessed of their lands, bildings, vessels, merchandise, and other property whatever on the said Continent, or on the seas and islands adjacent, they shall be reestablished in the possession thereof, or a just compensation shall be made to them for the losses which they have sustained.

"Art. 3. In order to strengthen the bonds of friendship, and to preserve in future a perfect harmony and good understanding between the two contracting parties, it is agreed, that their respective subjects shall not be disturbed or molested, either in negotiating or carrying on their fisheries in the Pacific Ocean or in the South Seas, or in landing on the coast of those seas, in places not already occupied, for the purpose of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country, or of making settlements there; the whole subject, nevertheless, to the instructions specified in these following articles.

"Art. 4. His Britannic majesty engages to take the most effectual measures to prevent the navigation, and the fishing of his subjects in the Pacific Ocean, or in the South Seas, from being made a pretext for illicit trade with the Spanish settlements; and with this view, it is moreover, expressly stipulated, that British subjects shall not navigate or carry on their fishery in the said seas, within the space of ten sea leagues from any part of the coasts already occupied by Spain.

"Art. 5. As well in the places which are to be restored to the British subjects by virtue of the first Article, as in all other parts of the north-western coast of America, or of the islands adjacent, situate to the north of the parts of the said coast already occupied by Spain, wherever the subjects of the two powers shall have made settlements, since the month of April, 1789, or shall hereafter make any, the subjects of the other shall have free access, and shall carry on their trade without any disturbance or molestation.

"Art. 6. With respect to the eastern and western coasts of South America, and to the islands adjacent, no settlement shall be formed hereafter by the respective subjects in such part of those coasts as are situated to the south of those parts of the same coasts, and of the islands adjacent, which are already occupied by Spain;

provided, that the said respective subjects shall retain the liberty of landing on the coasts and islands so situated, for the purposes of their fishery, and of erecting thereon, huts and other temporary buildings, serving only for those purposes.

"Art. 7. In all cases of complaint, or infraction of the articles of the present convention, the officers of either party, without permitting themselves previously to commit any violence or acts of force, shall be bound to make an exact report of the affair, and of its circumstances, to their respective courts who will terminate such differences in an amicable manner.

Art. 8. The present convention shall be ratified and confirmed in the space of six weeks, to be computed from the day of its signature, or sooner, if it can be done.

"In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, plenipotentiaries of their Britannic and Catholic majesties, have in their names, and by virtue of respective full powers, signed the present convention, and set thereto the seals of our Arms. Done at the palace of St. Lawrence, the 28th of October, 1790.

[L. S.] "El Conde De Florida Banca.
[L. S.] "Alleyne Fitzherbert."

[No's 4 and 5 of the Appendix, consisting of a correspondence between Captains Gray and Ingraham and the Spanish commissioner at Nootka in 1792, and an extract from Captain Gray's log-book respecting the occurrences in the Columbia river on his first visit, though referred to in the preceding pages, were deemed to be of not enough importance to warrant any further increase of this portion of the work.]

(No. 6.)

BRITISH STATEMENT, OF 1826.*

The government of Great Britain, in proposing to renew, for a further term of years, the third article of the convention of 1818, respecting the territory on the north-west coast of America, west of the Rocky Mountains, regrets that it has been found impossible, in the present negotiation, to agree upon a line of boundary which should separate those parts of that territory, which might henceforward be occupied or settled by the subjects of Great Britain, from the parts which would remain open to occupancy or settlement by the United States.

To establish such a boundary must be the ultimate object of both countries. With this object in contemplation, and from a persuasion that a part of the difficulties which have hitherto prevented its attainment is to be attributed to a misconception, on the part of the United States, of the claims and views of Great Britain in regard to the territory in question, the British plenipotentiaries deem it advisable to bring under the notice of the American plenipotentiary a full and explicit exposition of those claims and views.

As preliminary to this discussion, it is highly desirable to mark distinctly the broad difference between the nature of the rights claimed by Great Britain and those asserted by the United States, in respect to the territory in question.

Over a large portion of that territory, namely, from the 42d degree to the 49th degree of north latitude, the United States claim full and exclusive sovereignty.†

Great Britain *claims no exclusive sovereignty over any portion of that territory.*‡ Her present claim, not in respect to any part, but to the whole, is limited to a right of joint occupancy, in common with other states, leaving the right of exclusive dominion in abeyance.

In other words, the pretensions of the United States tend to the ejection of all other nations, and, among the rest, of Great Britain, from all right of settlement in the district claimed by the United States.§

The pretensions of Great Britain, on the contrary, tend to the mere maintenance of her own rights, in resistance to the exclusive character of the pretensions of the United States.

Having thus stated the nature of the respective claims of the two parties, the

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* This statement is here inserted in full, because it is a complete synopsis of all the pretensions of Great Britain; and being the groundwork of her claims, is particularly interesting as showing the other side of the story.

† At the period of this convention, the United States plenipotentiary was instructed to agree to the extension of our northern boundary line, westward from the Lake of the Woods, along parallel 49°, to the Pacific; with the further instruction, that in case such compromise should not be accepted, we should feel ourselves entitled thereafter, to insist upon the full measure of our rights.

‡ She has exercised it nevertheless.

§ Truly so; and this must always be the case between rightful owners and mere pretenders.

British plenipotentiaries will now examine the grounds on which those claims are founded.

The claims of the United States are urged upon three grounds:

1st. As resulting from their own *proper* right.

2dly. As resulting from a right derived to them from Spain; that power having by the treaty of Florida, concluded with the United States in 1819, ceded to the latter all their rights and claims on the western coast of America north of the 42d degree.

3dly. As resulting from a right derived to them from France, to whom the United States succeeded, by treaty, in possession of the province of Louisiana.

The first right, or right *proper*, of the United States, is founded on the alleged discovery of the Columbia River by Mr. Gray, of Boston, who, in 1792, entered that river, and explored it to some distance from its mouth.

To this are added the first exploration, by Lewis and Clarke, of a main branch of the same river, from its source downwards, and also the alleged priority of settlement, by citizens of the United States, of the country in the vicinity of the same river.

The second right, or right derived from Spain, is founded on the alleged prior discovery of the region in dispute by Spanish navigators, of whom the chief were, 1st, Cabrillo, who, in 1543, visited that coast as far as 44 degrees north latitude; 2d, De Fuca, who, as it is affirmed, in 1598, entered the straits known by his name in latitude 49 degrees; 3d, Guelli, who, in 1582, is said to have pushed his researches as high as 57 degrees north latitude; 4th, Perez and others, who, between the years 1774 and 1792, visited Nootka Sound and the adjacent coasts.

The third right, derived from the cession of Louisiana to the United States, is founded on the assumption that that province, its boundaries never having been exactly defined *longitudinally*, may fairly be asserted to extend westward across the Rocky Mountains, to the shore of the Pacific.

Before the merits of these respective claims are considered, it is necessary to observe that one only out of the three can be valid.

They are, in fact, claims obviously incompatible the one with the other.* If, for example, the title of Spain by first discovery, or the title of France as the original possessor of Louisiana, be valid, then must one or the other of those kingdoms have been the lawful possessor of that territory, at the moment when the United States claim to have discovered it. If, on the other hand, the Americans were the first discoverers, there is necessarily an end of the Spanish claim; and if priority of discovery constitutes the title, that of France falls equally to the ground.

Upon the question, how far prior discovery constitutes a legal claim to sovereignty, the law of nations is somewhat vague and undefined. It is, however, admitted by the most approved writers that mere accidental discovery, unattended by exploration—by formally taking possession in the name of the discoverer's sovereign—by occupation and settlement, more or less permanent—by purchase of the territory—or receiving the sovereignty from the natives—constitutes the lowest degree of title, and that it is only in proportion as first discovery is followed by any or all of these acts, that such title is strengthened and confirmed.

The rights conferred by discovery, therefore, must be discussed on their own merits.

But before the British plenipotentiaries proceed to compare the relative claims of Great Britain and the United States, in this respect, it will be advisable to dispose of the two other grounds of right, put forward by the United States.

The second ground of claim, advanced by the United States, is the cession made by Spain to the United States, by the treaty of Florida, in 1819.

If the conflicting claims of Great Britain and Spain, in respect to all that part of the coast of North America, had not been finally adjusted by the convention of Nootka, in the year 1790, and if all the arguments and pretensions, whether resting on priority of discovery, or derived from any other consideration, had not been definitively set at rest by the signature of that convention, nothing would be more easy than to demonstrate that the claims of Great Britain to that country, as opposed to those of Spain, were so far from visionary, or arbitrarily assumed, that they established more than *a parity of title* to the possession of the country in question, either as against Spain, or any other nation.

Whatever that title may have been, however, either on the part of Great Britain or on the part of Spain, prior to the convention of 1790, it was from thenceforward no longer to be traced in vague narratives of discoveries, several of them admitted to be apocryphal, but in the text and stipulations of that convention itself.

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*By no means! An equitable settlement might at one time have divided the territory between the two first parties claimant; and their joint release in favor of the United States, while it makes absolutely against Great Britain, strengthens the title of the United States in the same degree.

By that convention it was agreed that all parts of the north-western coast of America, not already occupied at that time by either of the contracting parties, should thenceforward be equally open to the subjects of both, for all purposes of commerce and settlement; the sovereignty remaining in abeyance.

In this stipulation, as it has been already stated, all tracts of country claimed by Spain and Great Britain, or accruing to either, in whatever manner, were included.

The rights of Spain on that coast were, by the treaty of Florida, in 1819, conveyed by Spain to the United States. With those rights the United States necessarily succeeded to the limitations by which they were defined, and the obligations under which they were to be exercised. From those obligations and limitations, as contracted towards Great Britain, Great Britain cannot be expected gratuitously to release those countries, merely because the rights of the party originally bound have been transferred to a third power.

The third ground of claim of the United States rests on the right supposed to be derived from the cession to them of Louisiana by France.

In arguing this branch of the question, it will not be necessary to examine in detail the very dubious point of the assumed extent of that province, since, by the treaty between France and Spain of 1763, the whole of that territory, defined or undefined, real or ideal, was ceded by France to Spain, and, consequently, belonged to Spain, not only in 1790, when the convention of Nootka was signed between Great Britain and Spain, but also subsequently, in 1792, the period of Gray's discovery of the mouth of the Columbia. If, then, Louisiana embraced the country west of the Rocky Mountains, to the south of the 49th parallel of latitude, it must have embraced the Columbia itself, which that parallel intersects; and, consequently, Gray's discovery must have been made in a country avowedly already appropriated to Spain, and, if so appropriated, necessarily included, with all other Spanish possessions and claims in that quarter, in the stipulations of the Nootka convention.

Even if it could be shown, therefore, that, the district west of the Rocky Mountains was within the boundaries of Louisiana, that circumstance would in no way assist the claim of the United States.

It may, nevertheless, be worth while to expose, in a few words, the futility of the attempt to include that district within those boundaries.

For this purpose, it is only necessary to refer to the original grant of Louisiana made to De Crozat by Louis XIV., shortly after its discovery by La Salle. That province is therein expressly described as "the country drained by the waters entering, directly or indirectly, into the Mississippi." Now, unless it can be shown that any of the tributaries of the Mississippi cross the Rocky Mountains from west to east, it is difficult to conceive how any part of Louisiana can be found to the west of that ridge.

There remains to be considered the first ground of claim advanced by the United States to the territory in question, namely, that founded on their own proper right as first discoverers and occupiers of territory.

If the discovery of the country in question, or rather the mere entrance into the mouth of the Columbia by a private American citizen, be, as the United States assert, (although Great Britain is far from admitting the correctness of the assertion,) a valid ground of national and exclusive claim to all the country situated between the 42d and 49th parallels of latitude, then must any preceding discovery of the same country, by an individual of any other nation, invest such nation with a more valid, because a prior, claim to that country.

Now, to set aside, for the present, Drake, Cook, and Vancouver, who all of them either took possession of, or touched at, various points of the coast in question, Great Britain can show that in 1788—that is, four years before Gray entered the mouth of the Columbia River—Mr. Meares, a lieutenant of the royal navy,[*] who had been sent by the East India Company on a trading expedition to the north-west coast of America, had already minutely explored that coast, from the 49th degree to the 45th degree north latitude; had taken formal possession of the Straits of De Fuca, in the name of his sovereign; had *purchased land*, trafficked and *formed treaties*[†] with the natives; and had *actually entered the bay of the Columbia*, to the northern head land of which he gave the name of *Cape Disappointment**—a name which it bears to this day.

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[*] Meares was a Portuguese hireling, and not in any branch of English service, and though a speculating half-pay lieutenant, was, to all intents and purposes, as much a private citizen as Captain Gray. See Appendix, No. 10.

[†] The only treaty he formed, was an agreement with Maquinna, the king of the surround-

Dixon, Scott, Duncan, Strange, and other private British traders, had also visited these shores and countries several years before Gray; but the single example of Meares suffices to quash Gray's claim to prior discovery. To the other navigators above mentioned, therefore, it is unnecessary to refer more particularly.

It may be worth while, however, to observe, with regard to Meares, that his account of his voyages was *published in London in August*, 1790; that is, two years before Gray is even pretended to have entered the Columbia.†

To that account are appended, first, extracts from his log-book; secondly, maps of the coasts and harbors which he visited, in which every part of the coast in question, *including the bay of the Columbia*, (*into which the log expressely states that Meares entered*,) is minutely laid down, its delineation tallying, in almost every particular, with Vancouver's subsequent survey, and with the description found in all the best maps of that part of the world, adopted at this moment; thirdly, the account in question actually contains an engraving, dated in August, 1790, of the entrance of De Fuca's Straits, executed after a design taken *in June*, 1788, by Meares himself.‡

With these physical evidences of authenticity, it is needless to contend for, as it is impossible to controvert, the truth of Meares's statement.

It was only on the *17th of September*, 1788, that the Washington, commanded by Mr. Gray, first made her appearance at Nootka.

If, therefore, any claim to these countries, as between Great Britain and the United States, is to be deduced from priority of the discovery, the above exposition of dates and facts suffices to establish that claim in favor of Great Britain, on a basis too firm to be shaken.

It must, indeed, be admitted that Mr. Gray, finding himself in the bay formed by the discharge of the waters of the Columbia into the Pacific, was the first to ascertain that this bay formed the outlet of a great river—a discovery which had escaped Lieutenant Meares, when, in 1788, four years before he entered the very same bay.

But can it be seriously urged that this single step in the progress of discovery not only wholly supersedes the prior discoveries, both of the bay and the coast, by Lieutenant Meares, but equally absorbs the subsequent exploration of the river by Captain Vancouver, for near a hundred miles above the point to which Mr. Gray's ship had proceeded, the formal taking possession of it by that British navigator, in the name of his sovereign, and also all the other discoveries, explorations, and temporary possession and occupation of the ports and harbors on the coast, as well of the Pacific as within the Straits of De Fuca, up to the 49th parallel of latitude?§

This pretension, however, extraordinary as it is, does not embrace the whole of the claim which the United States build upon the limited discovery of Mr. Gray, namely, that the bay of which Cape Disappointment is the northernmost headland, is, in fact, the embrochure of a river. That mere ascertainment, it is asserted, confers on the United States a title, in exclusive sovereignty, to the whole extent of country drained by such river, and by all its tributary streams.

In support of this very extraordinary pretension, the United States allege the precedent of grants and charters accorded in former times to companies and individuals, by various European sovereigns, over several parts of the American continent. Among other instances are adduced the charters granted by Elizabeth, James I., Charles II., and George II., to sundry British subjects and associations,‖

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ing country, granting him leave to make a temporary building, on the express condition, that when he finally left the coast, "the house and all the goods thereunto belonging" should fall into that chief's possession; a condition, by the way, which Meares dishonestly failed to fulfil; for the boards were struck off, and taken on board one of his vessels, and the roof was given to Captain Kendrick.

* "Cape Disappointment," because he failed to discover the river he sought.

† That is to say, he was "disappointed" two years before Captain Gray was satisfied.

‡ It will be recollected it was "Meares himself" who despatched word to England of the wonderful discoveries of Captain Gray, in the Strait of Fuca.

§ No; we claim these latter, on the ground of other discoveries, and also on the score of Spain.

‖ This is a wilful perversion, to say the least of it. The United States, in proving the principle, merely alluded to these latter charters as instances of Britain's recognition of the rule with her own subjects, or in other words, when *it run in favor of herself*. While the correctness and usage of the principle was otherwise indubitably proved, the above instances were merely brought forward as a conclusive rebuke to Britain's opposition to its application *to us*. It was on the ground of these charters, together with the application of their rule to the pretended discovery of the Columbia river by Vancouver and Meares, that we felt warranted in asserting on the 31st page, that Great Britain advances the principle herself.

as also the grant made by Louis XIV. to De Crozat over the tract of country watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries.

But can such charters be considered an acknowledged part of the law of nations? Were they any thing more, in fact, than a cession to the grantee or grantees of whatever rights the grantor might suppose himself to possess, to the exclusion of other subjects of the same sovereign?—charters binding and restraining those only who were within the jurisdiction of the granter, and of no force or validity against the subjects of other states, until recognized by treaty, and thereby becoming a part of international law.

Had the United States, thought proper to issue, in 1790, by virtue of their national authority, a charter granting to Mr. Gray the whole extent of country watered, directly or indirectly, by the River Columbia,[*] such a charter, would, no doubt, have been valid in Mr. Gray's favor, as against all other citizens of the United States. But can it be supposed that it would have been acquiesced in by either of the powers, Great Britain and Spain, which, in that same year, were preparing to contest by arms the possession of the very country which would have been the subject of such a grant?

If the right of sovereignty over the territory in question accrues to the United States by Mr. Gray's discovery, how happens it that they never protested against the violence done to that right by the two powers, who, by the convention of 1790, regulated their respective rights in and over a district so belonging, as it is now asserted, to the United States?

This claim of the United States to the territory drained by the Columbia and its tributary streams, on the ground of one of their citizens having been the first to discover the entrance of that river, has been here so far entered into, not because it is considered to be necessarily entitled to notice, since the whole country watered by the Columbia falls within the provisions of the convention of 1790, but, because the doctrine above alluded to has been put forward so broadly, and with such confidence, by the United States, that Great Britain considered it equally due to herself and to other powers to enter her protest against it.

The United States further pretend that their claim to the country in question is strengthened and confirmed by the discovery of the sources of the Columbia, and by the exploration of its course to the sea by Lewis and Clarke, in 1805-6.

In reply to this allegation, Great Britain affirms, and can distinctly prove, that, if not before, at least in the same and subsequent years, her North-Western Trading Company had, by means of their agent, Mr. Thomson, already established their posts among the Flat-head and Kootanie tribes, on the head-waters of the northern or main branch of the Columbia, and were gradually extending them down the principal stream of that river; thus giving to Great Britain, in this particular, again, as in the discovery of the mouth of the river, *a title to parity* at least, if not priority, of discovery, as opposed to the United States. It was from those posts, that, having heard of the American establishment forming in 1811, at the mouth of the river, Mr. Thomson hastened thither, descending the river, to ascertain the nature of that establishment.[†]

Some stress having been laid by the United States on the restitution to them of Fort George by the British, after the termination of the last war, which restitution they represent as conveying a virtual acknowledgment by Great Britain of the title of the United States to the country in which that post was situated—it is desirable to state, somewhat in detail, the circumstances attending that restitution.

In the year 1815, a demand for the restoration of Fort George was first made to Great Britain, by the American government, on the plea that the first article of the treaty of Ghent stipulated the restitution to the United States of all posts and places whatsoever taken from them by the British during the war, in which description, Fort George, (Astoria,) was included.

For some time the British government demurred to comply with the demand of the United States, because they entertained doubts how far it could be sustained by the construction of the treaty.

In the first place, the trading post called Fort Astoria (or Fort George,) was not a national possession; in the second place, it was not a military post; and, thirdly, it was never captured from the Americans by the British.

It was, in fact, conveyed in regular commercial transfer, and accompanied by a

[*] These Englishmen are crazy—the Columbia was not discovered by Captain Gray till 1792. If the above is intended as an illustration only, the instance is as weak as the previous arguments are inconclusive.

[†] We have seen that Mr. Thomson came a year too late.

bill of sale, for a sum of money, to the British company, who purchased it, by the American company, who sold it of *their own free will.*

It is true that a British sloop of war had, about that time, been sent to take possession of that post, but she arrived subsequently to the transaction above mentioned, between the two companies, and found the British company *already in legal occupation of their self acquired property.*

In consequence, however, of that ship having been sent out with hostile views, although those views were not carried into effect,* and in order that not even a shadow of a reflection might be cast upon the good faith of the British government, the latter determined to give the most liberal extension to the terms of the treaty of Ghent, and, in 1818, the purchase which the British company had made in 1813 was restored to the United States.

Particular care, however, was taken, on this occasion, to prevent any misapprehension as to the extent of the concession made by Great Britain.

Viscount Castlereagh, in directing the British minister at Washington to intimate the intention of the British government to Mr. Adams, then secretary of state, uses these expressions, in a despatch dated 4th February, 1818:—

"You will observe, that, whilst this government is not disposed to contest with the American government the point of possession as it stood in the Columbia River at the moment of the rupture, *they are not prepared to admit the validity of the title of the government of the United States to this settlement.*

"In signifying, therefore, to Mr. Adams the full acquiescence of your government in the reoccupation *of the limited position* which the United States held in that river at the breaking out of the war, *you will at the same time assert, in suitable terms, the claim* of Great Britain to that territory, upon which the American settlement must be considered as an encroachment."

This instruction was executed verbally by the person to whom it was addressed.

The following is a transcript of the act by which the fort was delivered up, by the British, into the hand of Mr. Prevost, the American agent:—

"In obedience to the command of H. R. H. the prince regent, *signified in a despatch from the right honorable the Earl Bathurst*, addressed to the partners or agents of the North-West Company, bearing date the 27th of January, 1818, and in obedience to a subsequent order, dated the 26th July, from W. H. Sheriff, Esq., captain of H. M. ship Andromache, We, the undersigned, do, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, restore to the government of the United States, through its agent, J. P. Prevost, Esq., the settlement of Fort George, on the Columbia river.

"Given under our hands, in triplicate, at Fort George, (Columbia River,) this 6th day of October, 1818.

"F. Hickey, *Captain H. M. ship Blossom*,
"J. Keith, *of the N. W. Co.*"

The following is the despatch from Earl Bathurst to the partners of the North-West Company, referred to in the above act of cession:—

Downing-street, *27th January*, 1818.

"Intelligence having been received that the United States sloop of war *Ontario* has been sent by the American government to establish a settlement on the Columbia river, which was held by that state, on the breaking out of the last war, I am to acquaint you, that it is the prince regent's pleasure, (*without, however, admitting the right of that government to the possession in question*) that, in pursuance of the first article of the treaty of Ghent, due facility should be given to the reoccupation of the said settlement by the officers of the United States; and I am to desire that you would contribute as much as lies in your power to the execution of his royal highness's commands.

"I have, &c. &c.,
"Bathurst."

"*To the Partners or Agents of the North-West Company,*
residing on the Columbia river."

The above documents put the case of the restoration of Fort Astoria in too clear a light to require further observation.

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* These views were carried into effect. The place was regularly taken possession of in the king's name on the 1st December, 1813, and the British flag was run up with all the formalities of conquest, in place of the American standard

The case, then of Great Britain, in respect to the country west of the Rocky Mountains, is shortly this :—

Admitting that the United States have acquired all the rights which Spain possessed, up to the treaty of Florida, either in virtue of discovery, or, as is pretended, in right Louisiana, Great Britain maintains that the nature and extent of those rights, as well as of the rights of Great Britain, are fixed and defined by the convention of Nootka ; that these rights are equal for both parties ; and that, in succeeding to the rights of Spain, under that convention, the United States must also have succeeded to the obligations which it imposed.

Admitting, further, the discovery of Mr. Gray, to the extent already stated, Great Britain, taking the whole line of the coast in question, with its straits, harbors, and bays, has stronger claims, on the ground of prior discovery, attended with acts of occupancy and settlement, than the United States.

Whether, therefore, the United States rest their claims upon the title of Spain, or upon that of prior discovery, or upon both, Great Britain is entitled to place her claims at least upon a parity with those of the United States.

It is a fact, admitted by the United States, that, with the exception of the Columbia river, there is no river which opens far into the *interior*, on the whole western coast of the Pacific Ocean.

In the *interior* of the territory in question, the subjects of Great Britain have had, for many years, numerous settlements and trading posts—several of these posts on the tributary streams of the Columbia, several upon the Columbia itself, some to the northward, and others to the southward, of that river ; and they navigate the Columbia as the sole channel for the conveyance of their produce to the British stations nearest the sea, and for the shipment of it from thence to Great Britain. It is also by the Columbia and its tributary streams that these posts and settlements receive their annual supplies from Great Britain.[*]

In the whole of the territory in question, the citizens of the United States have not a single settlement or trading post. They do not use that river, either for the purpose of transmitting or receiving any produce of their own, to or from other parts of the world.

In this state of the relative rights of the two countries, and of the relative exercise of those rights, the United States claim the exclusive possession of both banks of the Columbia, and, consequently, that of the river itself ; offering, it is true, to concede to British subjects a conditional participation in that navigation, but subject, in any case, to the exclusive jurisdiction and sovereignty of the United States.

Great Britain, on her part, offers to make the river the boundary ; each country retaining the bank of the river contiguous to its own territories, and the navigation of it remaining forever free, and upon a footing of perfect equality to both nations.

To carry into effect this proposal, on our part, Great Britain would have to give up posts and settlements south of the Columbia. On the part of the United States, there could be no reciprocal withdrawing from actual occupation, as there is not, and never has been, a single American citizen settled north of the Columbia.

The United States decline to accede to this proposal, even when Great Britain has added to it the further offer of a most excellent harbor, and an extensive tract of country on the Straits of De Fuca—a sacrifice tendered in the spirit of accommodation, and for the sake of a final adjustment of all differences, but which, having been made in this spirit, is not to be considered as in any degree recognizing a claim on the part of the United States, or as at all impairing the existing right of Great Britain over the post and territory in question.

Such being the result of the recent negotiation, it only remains for Great Britain to maintain and uphold the qualified rights which she now possesses over the whole of the territory in question. These rights are recorded and defined in the convention of Nootka. They embrace the right to navigate the waters of those countries, the right to settle in and over any part of them, and the right freely to trade with the inhabitants and occupiers of the same.

These rights have been peaceably exercised ever since the date of that convention ; that is, for a period of near forty years. Under that convention, valuable British interests have grown up in those countries. It is fully admitted that the United States possess the same rights, although they have been exercised by them only in a single instance, and have not, since the year 1818, been exercised at all. But beyond these rights they possess none.

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[*] Here is an assertion that Great Britain has been accruing title, through the operations of her Hudson's Bay Company, ever since the treaty of 1818. This gives an additional significance to her grant of the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the territory, to that incorporation. It will be well for our readers here to recollect the declaration of our Government made in 1823, that thenceforth no portion of the American Continents were to be considered as subjects for European Colonization.

To the interests and establishments which British industry and enterprise have created, Great Britain owes protection. That protection will be given, both as regards settlement and freedom of trade and navigation, with every attention not to infringe the coördinate rights of the United States; it being the earnest desire of the British government, so long as the joint occupancy continues, to regulate its own obligations by the same rule which governs the obligations of any other occupying party.

Fully sensible, at the same time, of the desirableness of a more definite settlement, as between Great Britain and the United States, the British government will be ready, at any time, to terminate the present state of joint occupancy by an agreement of delimitation; but such arrangement only can be admitted as shall not derogate from the rights of Great Britain, as acknowledged by treaty, nor prejudice the advantages which British subjects, under the same sanction, now enjoy in that part of the world.

(No. 7.)

Convention between the United States and Great Britain, signed at London, October 20th, 1818.

Article. 2—It is agreed that a line drawn from the most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods, along the 49th parallel of north latitude, or, if the said point shall not be in the 49th parallel of north latitude, then that a line drawn from the said point due north or south, as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection due west along and with the said parallel, shall be the line of demarkation between the territories of the United States and those of his Britannic majesty; and that the said line shall form the northern boundary of the said territories of the United States, and the southern boundary of the territories of his Britannic Majesty, from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains.

Art. 3.—It is agreed that any country that may be claimed by either party on the north-west coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall, together with its harbors, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of the present convention, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects, of the two powers; it being well understood that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of the said country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of any other power or state to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and differences among themselves.

(No. 8.)

The Florida Treaty, signed at Washington, February 22d, 1819.

Article 3.—The boundary line between the two countries west of the Mississippi shall begin on the Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the River Sabine, in the sea, continuing north, along the western bank of that river, to the 32d degree of latitude; thence, by a line due north, to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches, or Red River; then, following the course of the Rio Roxo westward, to the degree of longitude 100 west from London and 23 from Washington; then crossing the said Red River, and running thence, by a line due north, to the River Arkansas; thence following the course of the southern bank of the Arkansas, to its source in latitude 42 north; and thence, by that parallel of latitude, to the South Sea; the whole being as laid down in Melish's map of the United States, published at Philadelphia, improved to the 1st of January, 1818. But, if the source of the Arkansas River shall be found to fall north or south of latitude 42, then the line shall run from the said source due south or north, as the case may be, till it meets the said parallel of latitude 42, and thence, along the said parallel, to the South Sea; all the islands in the Sabine, and the said Red and Arkansas Rivers, throughout the course thus described, to belong to the United States; but the use of the waters and the navigation of the Sabine to the sea, and of the said Rivers Roxo and Arkansas, throughout the extent of the said boundary, on their respective banks, shall be common to the respective inhabitants of both nations.

The two high contracting parties agree to cede and renounce all their rights, claims, and pretensions, to the territories described by the said line; that is to say, the United States hereby cede to his Catholic Majesty, and renounce forever, all their rights, claims, and pretensions, to the territories lying west and south of the above-described line; and, in like manner, his Catholic Majesty cedes to the said United States all his rights, claims, and pretensions, to any territories east and north of the said line; and for himself, his heirs, and successors, renounces all claim to the said territories forever.

(No. 9.)

Convention between the United States and Great Britain, signed at London, August 6th, 1827.

Article 1. All the provisions of the third article of the convention concluded between the United States of America and his majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the 20th of October, 1818, shall be, and they are hereby, further indefinitely extended and continued in force, in the same manner as if all the provisions of the said article were herein specifically recited.

Art. 2. It shall be competent, however, to either of the contracting parties, in case either should think fit, at any time after the 20th of October, 1828, on giving due notice of twelve months to the other contracting party, to annul and abrogate this convention; and it shall, in such case, be accordingly entirely annulled and abrogated, after the expiration of the said term of notice.

Art. 3. Nothing contained in this convention, or in the third article of the convention of the 20th October, 1818, hereby continued in force, shall be construed to impair, or in any manner affect, the claims which either of the contracting parties may have to any part of the country westward of the Stony or Rocky Mountains.

(No. 10.)

The Instructions of the Merchant Proprietors, to John Meares:

"* * * * Should you, in the course of your voyage, meet with any Russian, *English*, or Spanish vessels, you will treat them with civility and friendship, and allow them, if authorised, to examine your papers, which will show the object of your voyage. But you must, at the same time, guard against surprise. Should they attempt to seize you, or even carry you out of your way, you will prevent it by every means in your power, and repel force by force. You will on your arrival in the first port, protest before a proper officer against such illegal procedure; and ascertain as nearly as you can the value of your vessel and cargo, sending such protest, with a full account of the transaction to us at China. Should you in such conflict have the superiority, you will then take possession of the vessel that attacked you, as also her cargo, and bring both, with the officers and crew to China, that they may be condemned as legal prizes and their crews punished as pirates. Wishing you a prosperous voyage, etc.

(Signed), "The Merchant Proprietors."

ERRATA.

From the haste with which the foregoing work has been hurried through the press to meet the demand of the public, a number of errors have been overlooked, which, in the present edition can be corrected in no other way than by this final notice. The erroneous dates resulted chiefly from want of sufficient time to refer to the MSS., in reading the proof-sheets, and the occasional mistakes of expression are chargeable entirely to the haste of composition.

For the words, "while she dared not openly deny to Spain the rights of her Pacific discoveries," commencing on the 12th line of the 8th page, read—*in flagrant violation of the laws of humanity and of the rights of Spain to her Pacific discoveries.*

For the date "1587," occurring twice on the 20th line of the 10th page, read—1592.

For the words, "returned to Mexico," on the 27th line of the 10th page, read—*sailed again into the Pacific at its northern outlet* in 51°, *and then returned to Mexico.*

For "1780," on the 7th line of the 13th page, read—1789.

For "1775," occurring twice on line 24th of page 17, read—1795.

For "61°" on the 14th line of page 18, read—51°.

For the word "Canada," on the 28th line of the 22d page, read—*British America.*

For "the whole territory," on the 7th line of page 23, read—*the greater portion of the territory.*

For the word "all," on the 8th line of the 24th page, read—*most of them.*

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